



THE MAKING OF HAWAII

*A STUDY IN
SOCIAL EVOLUTION*

BY

WILLIAM FREMONT BLACKMAN ✓

PROFESSOR IN YALE UNIVERSITY

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.

1899

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Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith
Norwood Mass. U.S.A.

35051
May 25.99.

Inscribed

WITH LOVE AND GRATITUDE

TO

JOHN HOWARD WHITTEMORE

AND

JULIA SPENCER WHITTEMORE

PREFACE

THE Hawaiian Islands afford better facilities, perhaps, than any other field for a study of some important social problems. This fact is due to the blending there of the temperate and the tropical climates; the admixture of divers and widely different races; the contact of civilized and nature peoples under unique conditions, and with results in some respects unexampled, and in all respects instructive; the collision of the Christian, the secular, and the pagan, each in very vital forms; the rapid evolution from a primitive to a highly developed condition of the four fundamental and perduring social institutions, the family, the church, the state, and property; the control of industries by corporations, to an unusual degree; the close juxtaposition in recent years of a wealthy few and a poor multitude,—and all this within narrow and manageable limits of time, of area, and of population.

This work does not purport to be a history of the Hawaiian people, but a study of their social, political, and moral development. I have omitted many facts which would have been indispensable in a

history, and have included some inquiries, on the other hand, which would perhaps have had no proper place in a work of that character. And the facts under discussion have been put in comparison with similar or contrasting facts found in other fields, when these seemed either to elucidate, or to be themselves explained by, the former.

These studies were begun more than a decade ago, but it is thought that the recent incorporation of Hawaii among the territories of the United States may give to their publication at the present time a pertinence which it otherwise would not have had.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. C. N. Chapin, librarian of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the loan of several important volumes, some of them rare and otherwise inaccessible to me; to the Honorable S. B. Dole, Professor W. D. Alexander, the Honorable L. A. Thurston, and Judge W. F. Frear, of Honolulu, for information and advice; to two friends now dead—Dr. and Mrs. Wesley Newcomb, of Ithaca, New York—for reminiscences, letters, and documents relating to the early days; to Mr. Thomas G. Thrum, whose admirable series of Hawaiian Annuals, giving for five and twenty years a contemporaneous record of island affairs, have made my work possible; to Mr. Albert F. Judd, Jr., of the Yale Law School, who has furnished me with several items of information, and

helped me with the proofs; and in particular to the Reverend William Brewster Oleson—now of Warren, Massachusetts, but for fifteen years a resident of Hawaii and for half that time Principal of the Kamehameha school—who formerly sent me many important papers from Honolulu, and who has also done me the great favor to read through my book in manuscript. I owe to Mr. Oleson's personal familiarity with Hawaiian affairs, to his careful scholarship, and to his sound judgment, many valuable suggestions and emendations; he must not, however, be held responsible for any inaccuracy of statement or other defect of matter, and still less for any estimates of men, and of policies, which may be found in the book.

The remark is reported to have been made at a dinner party in Honolulu, several years ago, that "Yale College runs the government," in allusion to the number of her graduates who held conspicuous office under the Hawaiian monarchy, or were otherwise greatly influential. I venture to felicitate the University—and the Hawaiian people also—upon the notable and noble part taken by her sons in the establishment and the maintenance of civilization in "The Paradise of the Pacific."

WILLIAM FREMONT BLACKMAN.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
April 25, 1899.

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THE MAKING OF HAWAII

THE social and political history of Hawaii divides itself naturally into three periods—the Early, the Middle, and the Later. The first of these embraces all events prior to the discovery of the islands by Captain James Cook in 1778. The second terminates with the arrival of the American missionaries in 1820, and includes the conquest and remarkable reign of Kamehameha I., the destruction of the *tabu* system and of idolatry, and the first acquaintance of the people with western civilization. The third continues to the present time.

The first of these periods fades quickly backward into the prehistoric. There being as yet no written language, and no hieroglyphic or other archæological remains of importance having survived, the sole sources of information respecting that early day are the legends, traditions, and genealogies which were handed down from lip to lip through many generations. If, indeed, one were writing a full history of the Hawaiian people, it would be needful for him to collect these traditions, sift them with critical care, compare them with those found in other groups

of Polynesia and elsewhere, and reconstruct from them, so far as possible, the ancient story. But this is apart from my purpose. Moreover, the task has already been accomplished, and with most painstaking and affectionate thoroughness.¹

The results of the inquiry, however, though of interest to the antiquary, the ethnologist, and the anthropologist, have little in them of direct value to the student of sociology. I shall therefore proceed at once, after such slight allusion to this matter as seems necessary, to describe the condition of the Hawaiian people when first brought to the knowledge of the civilized world, and shall then endeavor to trace the changes which it has undergone up to the present time, together with the causes, indigenous or introduced, by which these changes have been brought about. I shall also make such comparisons of the Hawaiian with other primitive peoples, as will serve to make more clear, on the one hand, the general features of savage and barbarian life, and of the development of human society; and, on the other, those peculiarities of nature and of early custom which have so notably qualified the subsequent history of this people.

¹ Abraham Fornander, late Circuit Judge of the island of Maui, "The Polynesian Race" ; "To my daughter, Catherine Kaonohiulaokalani Fornander, this work is dedicated, as a reminder of her mother's ancestors, and as a token of her father's love."

I

EARLY PERIOD

RACE

THE origin of the Hawaiian people, and their ethnic affinities, is a vexed question. That they belong to the same race with the natives of New Zealand, and the Marquesas, Society, Samoan, Tongan, and other groups of eastern Oceania, is proven by the substantial identity of language, traditions, religions, and social and political institutions, as well as of physical and intellectual traits, which prevails throughout that region. The Melanesian people, occupying the islands to the west, are of a different race, as are the Micronesians who dwell in the Gilbert, Marshall, Caroline, and Ladrone groups. In distinction from these, the Hawaiians and their kindred are called Polynesians, Malayo-Polynesians, Mahoris, or Sawaioris.¹ Their progenitors were emigrants from the Indian Archipelago — so much seems certain; but here

¹ This name, which is “a compound from *Sa-moa*, *Ha-wai-i*, and *Ma-ori*,” was devised and proposed by the Rev. S. J. Whitmee; see the “Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” vol. viii., and the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” ninth edition, article “Polynesia.”

agreement is at an end. Where did they have their origin? "North and South Americans, Malays, Papuans, Chinese, and Japanese, and even the lost tribes of Israel, have all, at different times, and by different writers, been charged with the paternity of this family, and made responsible for its origin and appearance in the Pacific Ocean."¹

¹ Fornander, *op. cit.*, p. 1. It is Judge Fornander's rather startling "conclusion that the various branches of that family, from New Zealand to the Hawaiian group, and from Easter Island to the outlying eastern portion of the Fiji Archipel, are descended from a people that was agnate to, but far older than, the Vedic family of the Arian race; that it entered India before these Vedic Arians; that there it underwent a mixture with the Dravidian race, which, as in the case of the Vedic Arians themselves, has permanently affected its complexion; that there also, in greater or less degree, it became moulded to the Cushite-Arabian civilization of that time; that, whether driven out of India by force, or voluntarily leaving for colonizing purposes, it established itself in the Indian Archipelago at an early period, and spread itself from Sumatra to Timor and Luzon; that here the Cushite influence became paramount to such a degree as to completely engraft its own legends, myths, culte, and partially institutions, upon the folklore and customs of the Polynesians; that it was followed into this archipelago by Bramanised or Buddhist Ario-Dravidians from the eastern coasts of Deccan, with a probably strong Burmah-Tibetan admixture, who in their turn, but after protracted struggles, obtained the ascendancy, and drove the Polynesians to the mountain ranges and the interior of the larger islands, or compelled them to leave altogether; . . . that the diversity of features and complexion in the Polynesian family—the frequently broad forehead, Roman nose, light olive complexion, wavy and sometimes ruddy hair—attest as much its Arian descent and Cushite connection, as its darker colour, its spreading nostrils, and its black eyes attest its mixture with the Dravidian race; and, finally, that if the present Hindu is a Vedic descendant, the Polynesian is *a fortiori* a Vedic ancestor"; he is "a chip of the same block from which the Hindu, the Iranian, and the Indo-European families were fashioned." (*Op. cit.*, i.

ENVIRONMENT

Without dwelling on these remote and uncertain matters, however, and reserving for a later section the description of the Hawaiian people itself, I have now to sketch the environment amidst which the race was for many centuries developed, and enumerate some of the extrinsic forces which wrought upon it, springing from position, climate, flora, fauna, consequent food supply, and celestial and terrestrial phenomena.

Perhaps the most salient, and a very influential, fact in this field is this: that the Hawaiian habitat was a series of islands,¹ sufficiently numerous and

Insular
position

159, and Preface, p. x.) As to the migration of this people from the Indian Archipelago to the islands of the Pacific, it is the opinion of this writer that it must have occurred not later than the first or second century of the Christian era; and that it terminated first upon the Fiji group, whence it rebounded to the northeastward, though not without leaving permanent traces of its contact with the Fijians, and reached the Hawaiian Archipelago *via* Tahiti and the Marquesas. Others, however, suppose that Samoa was the first island reached and the distributing point for the other groups.

That the Polynesians in the prehistoric time built large sea-going craft, were able to guide their course by the stars, and made long voyages, are facts too firmly imbedded in their traditions to be called in question, though their skill in this particular had departed from them long before they were brought to the attention of civilized man. One of their legendary heroes was named Kamapiikai — “a child running over the sea.”

¹ The Hawaiian Islands lie between 18° and 23° north latitude and 154° and 161° west longitude, and are thus distant from San Francisco about 2100 miles, from Hong Kong about 5000, from Yokohama about 3400, from

near together to influence one another decisively, yet far enough apart to make communication between them difficult; and all of them so small as to give

Sitka about 2400. The group proper embraces seven inhabited and three small uninhabited islands, as follows :—

	AREA IN STAT. SQ. MILES.	ACRES (APPROX.)	HEIGHT IN FEET.	POPULATION, 1896.
Hawaii	4,210	2,000,000	13,800	33,285
Maui	760	400,000	10,032	17,726
Oahu	600	360,000	4,030	40,205
Kauai	590	350,000	4,800	15,228
Molokai	270	200,000	3,000	2,307
Lanai	150	100,000	3,000	105
Niihau	97	70,000	800	164
Kahoolawe	63	30,000	1,450	....
Lehua . . . . .	....	.....	....	....
Molokini . . . . .	....	.....	....	....
Total	6,740	3,510,000	.....	109,020

In addition to the above, the following islands are now included with the territory of Hawaii :—

1. Nihoa, or Bird Island, 500 acres, 244 miles northwest from Honolulu; taken possession of in 1822.
2. Laysan Island, 2000 acres, 800 miles northwest from Honolulu; acquired in 1857.
3. Lisianski Island, 500 acres, 920 miles northwest from Honolulu; acquired in 1857.
4. Palmyra Island, a cluster of islets, 1100 miles southwest of Honolulu; taken possession of in 1862.
5. Ocean Island, 500 acres, 1800 miles northwest from Honolulu; acquired in 1886.
6. Necker Island, 400 acres, 400 miles northwest from Honolulu; acquired in 1894.

great compactness, homogeneity, narrowness of view, energy of inherited habit, persistence of tradition, and conservatism of custom to their populations. This insular position also hindered the nomadic life, frequent migrations, exogamy and marriage by capture, and inter-island wars, with consequent political amalgamation.

The Hawaiian Islands lie at the northern verge of the torrid zone. The climate, however, is rather semi-tropical than tropical, and is in a high degree salubrious. It is unintelligent to place a small mid-sea island, fanned by ocean winds, in the same climatic category with continental points lying on the same parallel of latitude or even the same isothermal line. And Hawaii is not only insular, but it is swept by trade-winds and laved by cool oceanic currents flowing southward, which reduce its average temperature perhaps ten degrees below the point which might be expected from its geographical position alone. The temperature is also notably equable. I have compared about a score of meteorological tables, compiled in different places and years, and showing a remarkable uniformity; the mean temperature being about 75° Fahr., and the

Climate

7. French Frigate Shoal, scattered reefs, 425 miles northwest from Honolulu; acquired in 1895.

8. Some half dozen other small islands and reefs have been claimed as Hawaiian territory, with what right or result I have not been able to learn.

difference between midsummer and midwinter being about ten degrees. The Hawaiian language has no word for "weather." The most important variation is due to altitude, the thermometer falling about four degrees with every thousand feet of ascent, the highest point (Mauna Kea, 13,800 feet) being often capped with snow. The east and west shores of the islands differ also from one another in climatic conditions, the former being cooler, with heavier rainfall and more vigorous winds; the latter being calmer, dryer, warmer. The direct influence of these facts on the character of the people, however, is obscure. It is a common opinion that a warm climate is unfavorable to social development; but the history of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Java, and Cambodia in the old world, and Mexico, Central America, and Peru in the new, show to what heights civilization may rise in hot countries.¹ And considering their insular position, their limited food supply, and their lack of metals and domestic animals, the Hawaiians had certainly come to a remarkably advanced stage of development when discovered. Perhaps, as Mr. Spencer suggests, tropical conditions may, by the easy abundance they provide, be favorable to social evolution up to a certain point, beyond which they are no longer needful, becoming at last even a hindrance as not furnish-

¹ Herbert Spencer, "The Principles of Sociology," i. 19-22.

ing the stimulus necessary for the highest achievements. Probably a hot climate and abundant sunshine tend also to beget a cheerful temper, influence health and sexual morality by making clothing superfluous, and affect home life by diminishing the relative importance of the domicile and enticing the people constantly out of doors.

The Hawaiian Islands are of volcanic origin, being the only ones of that nature lying north of the equator in the Pacific Ocean. The soil varies greatly in fertility. There are broad tracts of sterile lava, plains which require irrigation for the raising of crops, and valleys of inexhaustible richness. For the purposes of this work the aboriginal flora needs to be no further described than by pointing out that it furnished trees for the construction of canoes and implements of industry and of warfare, bark for the manufacture of cloth, fibre for the making of mats, ropes, and fish-nets, leaves for the thatching of houses, and a supply of vegetable food sufficient in amount but without much variety. Maize, the cultivation and consumption of which was a factor of so much consequence in the development of the Indian tribes of North and South America, was wanting in the Hawaiian Islands, as were all the cereals; but the sweet potato (of this, some fifty varieties),¹ the yam, and especially the *taro*, the cocoanut, the bread

Flora

Food supply

¹ "Annual" for 1879, p. 30.

fruit, and the banana (of this, about twenty varieties)¹ were abundant. The *ohia* (Malay jambo), *ohelo*, *akala* (raspberry), and *poha* (Cape gooseberry) were also to be found. Sugarcane and arrow-root were indigenous in the islands, but of the latter the natives were ignorant of the value and uses. There were several kinds of roots, moreover, which were eaten in emergencies. "According to J. R. Foster's calculation, twenty-seven breadfruit trees, which would about cover an English acre with their shade, are sufficient for the support, during the eight months of fruit-bearing, of from ten to twelve people."² The custom of preserving this fruit for a considerable period, by allowing it to ferment, which was found in Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands, does not appear to have been known in Hawaii. But the yam, fortunately, ripened during the interval when the breadfruit was scarce or lacking. The *taro* or *kalo*³ was, however, the "staff of life" for the Hawaiian people. This root was baked, macerated with a stone pestle, made into a thick paste and fermented, when it received the name *poi*, and was devoured in enormous quantities. The economic importance of this vegetable to the people may be seen in the fact that forty square feet of *taro*, properly cultivated, affords

¹ "Annual" for 1890, p. 79.

² Peschel, "The Races of Man," p. 156.

³ Variouslly called *Arum esculentum*, *Colocasia esculenta*, and *Colocasia antiquorum*.

sustenance to a single person for a year, at which rate a square mile would sustain above fifteen thousand for a like period.¹ And though it is accounted a disgusting dish by most travellers, the Hawaiians seem never to tire of it. Captain Beechey says that on the occasion of his visit to the islands in 1826, those natives who had accompanied the king, Liholiho, to England always spoke of the lack of *poi* as a most serious inconvenience to them while in that country.² How far the people were confined to a vegetable diet will appear in the next paragraph.

An ancient tradition relates that the first immigrants brought to the islands the hog, the dog, and a pair of fowls. However that may be, these were the only domestic animals found there by Cook. Of animal life not domestic there was also a scanty supply,—a kind of mouse, about fifty species of birds, fresh-water shrimps, and fish in moderate variety and numbers. Of insects there seem to have been few; there were no reptiles save a small lizard; and a few ducks were the only game to be found. The significance of these facts for the student of sociology is threefold:—

Fauna

1. This scarcity of animal life confined the com-

¹ See Haole, "Sandwich Island Notes," p. 122; also "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition, xi. 529.

² "Narrative," p. 202.

Food supply mon people to a diet chiefly vegetable, wanting in variety, diffuse and bulky, and rich in fat-producing elements. To this diet may be ascribed, perhaps, together with their habit of alternately gorging themselves and fasting according to the state of their larder, that corpulency to which travellers make frequent allusion, and that large abdominal development which Herbert Spencer notes as a common characteristic of primitive peoples, apes, and babies.¹ With more positiveness it may be asserted that the entire absence of milk must have had to do with the abnormal mortality of infants and children, which is so conspicuous and so painful a fact in Hawaiian history. Animal food was not altogether lacking, however. The people were skilful in catching fish, which they often ate raw. Those who could afford to do so partook of fowl, pork, and dog. This last was regarded as an especially delicious dish. Ellis says that the natives of his time (1825) regarded the flesh of the dog as sweeter than that of the pig, "and much more palatable than that of goats or kids," which some refused to touch and few cared to eat.² He also says that he himself had "seen nearly two hundred dogs cooked at one time," and he reports a certain royal feast where twice that number were baked and devoured. But

¹ "Principles of Sociology," i. 45.

² "Tour," p. 322.

while the chiefs and more prosperous people ate flesh habitually, the common man had it only at rare intervals.

2. The absence of noxious insects, poisonous serpents, and beasts and birds of prey must have had some influence on the psychical development and the legends and religious ceremonies of the people; for example, their traditions of the creation mention only the dog, the hog, and the lizard, and they offered sacrifices to the shark. There was also no occasion for the constant alertness, the attitude of defence, the frequent terror, the toil, and the economic loss, which predatory and poisonous animals cause in so many tropical regions.

Noxious
animals

3. The lack of game, on the one hand, and of domestic animals, on the other, shut off the Hawaiians both from the hunting and the pastoral life, and made them of necessity, and as it were prematurely, an agricultural folk,—though they were also skilful fishermen. They could not pass through the three stages which have marked the development of so many peoples, and, indeed, in a general way, of the human race. Wanting both space and beasts for the nomadic life, they could not evolve those institutions which grow out of it. I find no trace among them of the patriarchal family, nor any such clear divisions into clan and phratric and tribe as elsewhere appear. I shall mention in an-

Game and
cattle

other connection the tools they fashioned for the cultivation of the soil; it is sufficient at this point to note how decisive a factor in their development was this enforced pursuit of agriculture. As compared with the hunting life, it must have resulted in a more regular and constant activity; a more copious but less varied diet; an increase of forethought, patience, tranquillity of mind, and gentleness of temper; and an education of the senses and faculties more uniform, but less extreme as concerns those which are of special use in the chase. As compared with the pastoral life, it must have tended toward a more settled and satisfied disposition, greater indolence of temper, increased attachment to the soil and the domicile, and a consequent aptitude for higher social and political institutions.

THE PEOPLE

Physical
traits

I have now to sketch the people themselves; and first as to their physical traits. All travellers agree in pronouncing them a very fine race, — tall, shapely, well-featured, robust. Topinard gives the average height of adult Polynesians as five feet nine and a third inches.¹ Weisbach credits them with nearly two-thirds of an inch more, though he makes the Hawaiians slightly shorter than the average Polyne-

¹ "Anthropology," p. 320.

sian.¹ "Haole" found a skeleton in a catacomb at Waimea, formerly used as a burial place for the chiefs, which was six feet seven and three-quarters inches in length.² According to the measurements compiled by Topinard, the Hawaiians have greater manual strength than the Micronesians, Australians, Negroes, Iroquois, Chinese, French seamen (Ran-sonnet), or American soldiers (Gould); and are only surpassed by the Iroquois in strength of back.³ Cook noted a "few instances of corpulence" among them; and Mr. Armstrong described the Marquesians as not displaying "that egregious corpulency which often renders the Hawaiian such a gross and swinish being."⁴ As is frequently the case among primitive peoples, the Hawaiian ideal of female loveliness included *embonpoint*. The teeth are usually sound, regular, and beautiful,—a fact sometimes ascribed to the universal habit of eating cold food. The typical skull is slightly prognathous and sub-dolichocephalic. The children are precocious, and the age of puberty arrives early, as does that of ripeness and decay. In power of resistance to disease, the natives are in general inferior to Europeans and Americans, as may be seen

¹ Quoted in Quatrefages, "The Human Species," p. 60.

² "The Sandwich Islands," p. 362.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 400.

⁴ "Hawaiian Spectator," i. 9.

in the relative mortality attending the several epidemics which have visited the islands, as well as the fact that they suffer more, and succumb sooner, on taking up their residence in the less healthful islands to the southwest.¹

Superiority
of chiefs

The marked superiority, physical and otherwise, of the chiefs as compared with the common people, formerly led many to suppose them the descendants of a distinct and conquering race. Westermarck, who usually forms his opinions with more caution and on better grounds, has adopted this untenable notion.² Chiefs and people are almost certainly of one race here, as among the Tahitians, Tongans, Fijians, and other nature peoples where a like difference is seen. The chiefly families represent the race after having been full-fed, protected, relieved of undue burdens, *lomi-lomi*-ed,³ honored, and trained in freedom and self-respect from immemorial times; the "masses" show what the physical and hereditary effects of hunger, exposure, excessive though irregular toil, political tyranny, ignorance, and slavish fear can do for man.

Psychical
traits

Synthesizing the accounts of explorers, travellers, missionaries, and others, and making allowance for differences between individuals and the notable

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition, xix. 421.

² "History of Human Marriage," p. 369.

³ A sort of aboriginal massage treatment.

superiority of the chiefs, the early Hawaiians appear to have had an inquisitive disposition, marking their superiority over such incurious peoples as the Fuegians and Bushmen; acuteness of sense and powers of observation of a high grade, though inferior to those of many hunting races; an intellect nimble and surprisingly apt in acquiring the power to read and to solve mathematical problems; considerable imaginative subtlety, seen in the development of their cosmogony, and Pantheon of gods; the usual relative inability of primitive peoples to form abstract ideas, follow logical processes, and trace effects to their ultimate, obscure causes;¹ decided poetical and oratorical ability, coupled with great power to mimic and to memorize; a nature frank,² impulsive, volatile, careless, mirthful, hospitable yet often pitiless, mild yet passionate, gregarious, indolent though capable of great and sustained exertion, and happily forced into a degree of industry unusual within the tropics, by the comparative infertility of considerable areas of the soil.³

¹ Pickering states that the Fijians were "the only savage people he had met with who could give reasons, and with whom it was possible to hold a connected conversation." (Cited by Herbert Spencer, "Principles of Sociology," i. 80.)

² "I never met with a behavior so free from reserve and suspicion in my intercourse with any tribe of savages, as we experienced in the people of this island [Hawaii]." (Cook, "A Voyage," etc., ii. 540.)

³ Le Bon ("The Psychology of Peoples," 1898, p. 29 sq.) gives as the psychical traits of primitive peoples, "relative incapacity to reason, con-

These and other characteristics of the early Hawaiians are illustrated in their language and legends. The former was almost wholly wanting in generic and abstract terms, though especially rich in specific names and epithets.¹ Thus, it had no word for "gratitude" or "virtue." The "brutish, inarticulate interjection" abounded. There was such a dearth of consonantal elements and consequent overplus of vowel sounds—with one of which the syllable invariably ended—as gave an openness, a fluidity, an emotive richness, and, as it were, an intellectual indefiniteness to the spoken tongue, expressive of the character of the people who used it. There being no written language—not even the picture-writing so frequently devised by primitive races²—legends and traditions, many of them substantially identical with those found in other Polynesian groups, were handed on from generation to generation, by a hereditary and highly honored class of bards. A considerable number of these *meles* or chants have been preserved by native scholars, and by Ellis, Gray, Bastian, Fornander, and others. Some of them are religious, being prayers sequent great credulity, feeble powers of attention, observation, and reflection, dominant imitative faculty, extreme mobility of character, and want of foresight."

¹ Andrews, "Grammar," p. 19.

² The so-called "pictured rocks" which are found on Oahu, Molokai, and Kauai were probably not decorated by Hawaiians, unless under the instruction of another race.

or prophecies; some are *inoas*, or name-songs, "composed at the birth of a chief in his honor, recounting the exploits of his ancestors," etc.; some are *kanikaus*, or dirges; some are *ipos*, or love-songs;¹ and there are several other kinds. In form these *meles* are a sort of recitative, without rhyme or regular metre, repetitious, often alliterative, and sometimes having a parallelism very like that of the Hebrew psalms. In spirit many of them are strikingly poetic. They have in their syllables the dash of the surf, the cry of the wind, and the warmth of the tropical sun. They are aromatic with the flavors of the field and the salt sea. They are reminiscent of a cherished past, and vibrant with the joy or grief of the human spirit. Wilkes says, "none of their songs, dirges, or other poetic effusions, have any allusion" to the marriage tie; nor are there "any terms in the language to express connubial bliss."² Partly to correct this statement—which is unhappily near the truth—but chiefly to illustrate the form and spirit of the early Hawaiian *mele*, I quote the song of Lo-Lale when deserted by his wife Kelea:—

"Farewell, my partner on the lowland plains,
On the waters of Pohakea,
Above Kanehoa,
On the dark mountain spur of Maunauna.

¹ Alexander, "History," p. 93. *

² "Narrative," iv. 45.

O Lihue she is gone !
 Sniff the sweet scent of the grass,
 The sweet scent of the wild vines,
 That are twisted about by (the brook) Waikoloa,
 By the winds of Waiopua,
 My flower !
 As if a mote were in my eye,
 The pupil of my eye is troubled,
 Dimness (covers) my eyes. Woe is me ! Oh !"¹

This literary gift belonging from the first to the Hawaiian people was afterward turned to account by Kamehameha IV. in translating the English Prayer Book into his own tongue; by Liliuokalani, the recently deposed queen, in writing *He Mele Lahui Hawaii*;² by David Malo, Hon. S. M. Kamakau, Kalakaua, and others in preserving the folklore and historical remains of the early time; and by numerous poets and preachers in enriching the literature of the people. As is usual, the lyric talent was accompanied by talent musical. Divers kinds of drums, flute-like instruments made of gourds or bamboo, and a sort of guitar were used by them, and singing was a universal accomplishment. In Cook's "Voyage," it is asserted, and insisted upon, that the natives sang in "parts."³ But that would imply a degree of development unprecedented among primitive peoples, and is not, I

Music

¹ Fornander, *op. cit.*, ii. 85.

² Words and music published in the "Hawaiian Club Papers," Boston, 1868, p. 116.

³ iii. 143.

think, to be accepted. Their song was almost certainly, until modified by their contact with Europeans, nothing other than a sort of chant, or *recitative*, or rhythmic declamation. Some of the early missionaries—as ignorant as the explorers aforesaid of the character of primitive music—doubted whether the natives could easily be taught to sing.¹ They already sang skilfully after their own fashion, and soon learned to sing with equal skill after ours.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Of the gentile organization, which is so widely extended and interesting a feature of early society, there seems to be no trace among the Hawaiian or other Polynesian peoples;² perhaps an insular position, especially where the islands are small and scattered, is not favorable to its development. Prior to the solidification of the entire archipelago into one feudal state, the population may be said to have been divided into three general classes,—the nobility, the priests, and the common people.

Each of these classes, however, was subdivided into several. The kings of the different islands, the headmen of the districts, the chiefs of the villages, the numerous grades of priests, the agriculturists and

Classes

¹ See "Missionary Herald," xxiii. 146.

² See Morgan, "Ancient Society," p. 375.

artisans, and the slaves taken in war, constituted a society of which the ranks were in general hereditary as regards dignity, but not as regards office and function. The throne, *e.g.*, was hereditary in the ruling family, but the sovereign had it within his power to name his successor, failing which, the chiefs chose a king from among those of highest rank. Once established, the monarch could create or debase chiefs at his will. The origin of these class distinctions it is impossible to trace. Manifestly, they were increased in number, differentiated in dignity, and given permanence, by war between different islands or different districts of the same island. But whether they took their rise in seniority of age, or a chance superiority of physical or mental strength, or otherwise, cannot be determined. However originating, they became exceedingly sharp, and had great influence on life and character. There being no distinction between civil, military, social, and ecclesiastical headship, or between the legislative, executive, and judicial functions, vast and irresponsible power was concentrated in the hands of the ruling classes. The king and the *tabu* (or sacred) chiefs were deemed of divine lineage and authority. "It was death for a common man to remain standing at the mention of the king's name in song, or when the king's food, drinking-water, or clothing was carried past; to put on any article of dress belonging to him; to enter his inclo-

sure without permission; or even to cross his shadow or that of his house. If he entered the dread presence of the sovereign, he must crawl, prone on the ground, *kolokolo*, and leave it in the same manner.”¹

While living the king had absolute power over the lives, services, and property of all his subjects; and when he died there ensued—more perhaps as a testimony that all law was incarnate in his person, and all restraint removed by his death, than of grief at his departure—a carnival of anarchy and crime. A like reverence was felt for the chiefs, according to their several grades. How large the court was which gathered around them may be surmised from the account given by Stewart of the young chief apparently not three years old whom he saw walking the streets of Honolulu, stark naked except for a pair of green morocco shoes, and followed by a suite of twenty or twenty-five men and boys, carrying umbrellas, spittoons, *kahilis*, fans, and other royal paraphernalia. A chief having asked advice from a friend of mine, resident in the same city, as to the training of a refractory son, and being counselled to chastise him, expressed something like horror at the idea; the boy being, through the female line, of higher rank than himself. So For-
nander reports an ancient legend concerning a father who was about to strike a stepson, when the

¹ Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

mother interfered and revealed the chiefly rank of the youth, whereupon "the astonished stepfather stepped back in dismay."¹ This reverence for high rank, and its power over the lives of the people, is further illustrated by the custom, common, I think, throughout Polynesia, of substituting new names for persons or things when the old were found to be similar to that of the king—a custom which in Tahiti led to the adoption of *piti*, "together," instead of *rua*, "two"; and *pae*, "part," instead of *rima*, "hand" or "five"—substitutions which are perpetuated in the translation of John's Gospel made at the time.² That this extreme love and reverence for their chiefs was the decisive influence in turning the people to Christianity, and in shaping the political and constitutional history of the country, will appear further on.

Councils

The more important chiefs had considerable influence with the king also, being generally summoned in council whenever any matter of vital consequence was to be determined. This quasi-legislative body probably grew out of the earlier council of war, as it afterward developed into the House of Nobles. Its deliverances, however, were only advisory. "Sometimes the question of war or peace was deliberated in a public meeting of chiefs and warriors, and these public assemblies furnished occasion for the most powerful displays of native

¹ *Op. cit.*, ii. 74.

² Tylor, "Primitive Culture," i. 200.

eloquence," which must have been "at once bold in sentiment, beautiful in imagery, and in effect almost irresistible."¹

I shall hereafter trace the history of land titles Land tenure more fully than is here desirable. It is sufficient to note that when the islands were discovered a feudal system was in existence which soon afterward became as complete and rigorous as any the world has ever seen. The king was in theory the owner of all the soil; the head chiefs were his beneficiaries; dependent on them were the lesser chiefs, the landlords; and under these the common people were "tenants at will." "Not unfrequently lands were divided out to the seventh degree." Protection trickled downward from king to serf; and fealty, service, and tribute passed upward from serf to king. The very fish in the sea were the property of the crown.

The mode and extent of taxation were such as Taxation would naturally accompany such a system. The king issued his demands to the principal chiefs, who in turn levied for the king and for themselves upon the people. The petty chiefs afterward secured what they could.² An annual tribute of produce was expected — hogs, dogs, fish, fowls, potatoes, yams, *taro*, feathers, etc.; and of such manufactured articles as canoes, fishing-nets, *kapa* (cloth), and mats. Later, sandalwood was added; and still later, coin. Special

¹ Ellis, "Tour," p. 120.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 396.

levies at any time and for any amount, the king added at his pleasure. Stewart tells the melancholy story of a family who had secreted and fattened a pig, and set apart a day for the feast. The pig was baking when the caterer of the royal household, attracted by the savory odor, entered the hut, waited till the cooking was done, and bore the smoking dainty away for his master's table. Such events were common. Additional "gifts" of first-fruits were also expected. Moreover, the vassals were compelled to till the soil and do other work for their chiefs; while the king, on the occasion of building a house or executing any other royal work, impressed the people into his service without pity. When the sandalwood trade with China sprang up, these labor exactions became exceedingly oppressive. And when the afore-said houses were completed, their ingenious owners threw them open to the public, exacting an admittance fee, which amounted in one case, so late as the time of Ellis, to two thousand dollars in a single day. It is the opinion of careful observers that in these several ways, the chiefs absorbed two-thirds of the income of the common people.

Laws

The sole source of positive law among the Hawaiians was the will of the monarch, who centred in himself the legislative, executive, and judicial functions, all of which were reënforced by his position as head of the hierarchy and representative of the

gods. This will was made known to his subjects through heralds. The people, however, had influence, direct and indirect, in the framing of laws. Their direct influence was exerted through the council of chiefs referred to already, which was summoned by the king on important occasions, and whose advice was usually followed. And these chiefs, though themselves clothed with vast arbitrary power, were to a considerable degree dependent on the goodwill of their vassals, inasmuch as these might desert them at any time for the service of a more popular suzerain. The indirect influence of the people was felt through the consciousness on the part of the sovereign that there were limits to their patience, beyond which it was dangerous to pass. His rule was in truth "a despotism tempered by assassination."

But a far more powerful and wholesome check was imposed on the arbitrary action of the king by customary law. Originating doubtless, for the most part, in successive royal decrees, but tested by time and utility and the popular consent, this traditional code had become a kind of constitution. There was a class of men whose business it was "to rehearse proverbs and other instructions as handed down from ancestors."¹ One such tradition, preserved by Fornander,² was of Mailikukahi, an early king of Oahu, who caused that island to be surveyed,

Customary
law

¹ Dibble, "History," p. 93.

² *Op. cit.*, ii. 89.

established boundaries, enacted criminal laws, provided for the political training of first-born male children, and discountenanced human sacrifices. These traditions, which constituted what may be called the Hawaiian common law, were revered by the people themselves if possible even more than by the kings; and though they served in some respects to make yet more rigid and cruel the oppression under which they lived, they also served in other respects to regulate and attemper it. The subjects to which these customary laws mostly related were religious and customary observances, marriage and the family relation, land titles, irrigation, property rights, personal security, and barter.

Justice

In case of aggression on person or property, private retaliation was the first resort. If the injured individual felt himself too weak for this, he appealed for help in the avenging of his wrongs to kindred or chief—a custom which here and elsewhere, however barbaric it may now seem, had the excellent effect of increasing the tribal as against the merely individual instinct, and putting primitive man under bonds to his own kindred—whom otherwise he would involve with himself in trouble—to keep the peace. But a sort of litigation was also common, showing a yet more advanced stage of development. The king was the chief magistrate; the various chiefs had inferior jurisdiction in their own territories. The court

of justice was the house or yard of the magistrate, where plaintiff and defendant were brought face to face, and heard. The only police was the body of retainers that surrounded king and chiefs. The ordeal was frequently used, under the direction of the priests, as a test of guilt. An appeal might be made from the inferior to the superior chiefs, and from them to the king. I find enumerated among the penalties pronounced, "digging out the eyes, taking off the arms at the elbow joint, or the leg at the knee, or other inflictions of a similar character,"¹ banishment to another island, and death. In aggravated cases of theft, the culprit was bound in a leaky boat and set adrift. When decapitation was decreed, it was usually performed in a stealthy manner by an executioner at night, when the victim was asleep.

The Hawaiians had no standing army. Substantially the whole adult population was subject to the incidence of military obligation. When hostilities were determined upon, recruiting officers were sent out to summon as many warriors as might be needed. If any did not come, after due summons, a second officer was sent, who "cut or slit one of their ears, tied a rope around their body, and in this manner led them to the camp."² The priests, after sacrificing and making prayer in the temples, accompanied the army to the field, bearing the idols with them, and

Military
organization

¹ Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

² Ellis, "Tour," p. 122.

offering to the gods the body of the first enemy slain; while the women were often found in the thick of the fray, carrying in their hands extra weapons or a calabash of food for their husbands or caring for them when wounded. In times of peace, the people were subjected to frequent drills. Their weapons were the spear, the javelin, the dagger, the club, and the sling, which they were trained to use with great skill. Occasionally, inter-island wars were waged in fleets of canoes, but more generally on land; and vicarious encounters between champions, like that of David and Goliath, were common. Such non-combatants as there were retreated, during the progress of hostilities, to the *pali*—enclosures having high and exceedingly thick walls of stone and embracing a cave or a spring of water—or to almost inaccessible mountain fastnesses. Battles were waged with great fury and without mercy, and prisoners were ruthlessly put to death or enslaved.

A fact of some interest is, that the bow and arrow, though employed for pastime in the shooting of mice, had fallen into disuse among the Hawaiians, as also throughout Polynesia, as a military weapon. Along with this goes, of course, the fact that they made no use of poisoned arrows, a specially cruel and embruting mode of warfare which has been adopted almost everywhere else by primitive and half-civilized man. I incline to adopt Peschel's opin-

ion, which has met with criticism, that this disuse of the bow in Polynesian warfare was due to the lack of game, which prevented their being a hunting people, and rendered them inexpert in the use of a weapon especially suited to the chase, and requiring constant practice for its skilful manipulation. If this explanation is correct, it makes an important and suggestive addition to the account already given of the influence of habitat and environment on life.

RELIGION

The religion of the early Hawaiians is a subject of great interest and complexity. I have here only to indicate its outlines and general character.¹ The people were in a high degree religious by nature. Their pantheon of gods was populous.² Of these, three were regarded as deities essential and uncreate; viz., Kane, Ku, and Lono. It is Fornander's opinion³ that these three, equal in nature, but distinct in attributes, constituted a triad and were worshipped jointly as one god "under the grand and

Deities

¹ Chapters vi.-xii. of Alexander's "History," by far the most valuable part of the work, constitute the freshest and most thorough treatment of this subject to be found; to which should be added "Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society," No. 2, being an account of "The Lesser Hawaiian Gods," by J. S. Emerson (Honolulu, 1892).

² Bastian ("Zur Kenntniss Hawaiis," pp. 13-20) gives an exhaustive list of these gods, with some account of their rank and functions.

³ *Op. cit.*, i. 61.

mysterious name of *Hika po loa*." Kane was esteemed superior to the other two, and almost benevolent; Ku was the essence of darkness and cruelty; Lono was more intimately associated with the human, especially with the traditions of early kings. Captain Cook was worshipped as a theophany, or incarnation, of Lono. To this trinity of gods was added Kanaloa, a younger brother of the great Kane. The lesser divinities were innumerable and of many grades and functions. Sky, sea, and land were full of them. They wrought in the powers and phenomena of nature,—wind, tempest, thunder, lightning, earthquake, volcanic eruption, meteoric display. Families had their tutelary gods, frequently the shades of apotheosized ancestors. The several trades and occupations had their special deities, as, *e.g.*, bird-catchers, canoe-makers, fishermen, agriculturists, *kapa*-beaters, *hula*-dancers, thieves, gamblers, sorcerers, necromancers. Deities were incarnate in various animals and plants, as, *e.g.*, the hog, dog, and mouse among mammals; the domestic fowl, the wild goose, the mud hen, the owl, and the plover among birds; the shark, the eel, the shrimp, the squid, the cowry, and the limpet among fishes and marine animals; the lizard among reptiles; the sandalwood, gourd, sugarcane, bramble, banana, and cocoanut, among trees and plants.¹ Disease and death were

¹ Emerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-15.

regarded as the work of deities. Insane persons were sometimes, though not invariably, esteemed inspired.¹ Whether delirium, hysteria, epilepsy, sneezing, yawning, etc., were also ascribed to a divine possession, I have been unable to discover direct testimony. It is to be assumed, however, that such was the case, in accordance with the usual belief among nature peoples. To the number of these early gods there have been added, it must be confessed, two more by Christian missionaries, viz., Jehovah and the Bible; for while these have in a multitude of cases destroyed polytheism, they have served in other cases, especially during the recent revival of paganism, to enrich it with fresh but not exclusive objects of worship.²

That idolatry was a common practice among the
Hawaiians is less a proof of their degradation, as
the early missionaries complained, than of their
comparative advancement toward civilization. The
lowest tribes, such as the Bushmen, Australians,
Fuegians, Juangs, and Andamanese, have neither
fetishes nor idols. Fetishism is an organization and
expression of the religious instinct which implies
some reflection,—a statement which is yet more

Idolatry

¹ Captain Cook's party met two persons who were "disordered in their minds," and noted that "particular attention and respect [were] paid to them" (iii. 131); on the other hand, Stewart saw a lunatic stoned (1823), and says that this was a customary practice.

² Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

manifestly true of idolatry. Both existed among the Hawaiians, but the latter was more characteristic of their religion.

Temples

Equally indicative of a higher and increasing development was the place occupied by the *heiaus*, or temples, in the Hawaiian religion. Of these, the earliest were "open, truncated, pyramidal" structures, while the later were rectangular, walled, and shut off from the people outside.¹ In the change to the rectangular form we may trace the growth of architectural skill, while the addition of excluding walls testifies to a ritual less popular and to the increased power of the sacerdotal idea and class. The number of these temples, of various grades, was very great. Ellis relates that he counted nineteen in a single day's journey, during which he saw only about seven hundred dwellings.² A temple measured by Cheever was found to be two hundred and ninety feet long and one hundred and twenty-five feet broad, having walls twenty feet high and thirty feet thick at the base. There were also *puuhonuas*, or sanctuaries, to which criminals, warriors worsted in battle, and others in peril for their lives might flee, and where they were safe. One such place of refuge at Honaunau was examined by Ellis and found to be seven hundred and fifteen feet in length and four hundred and four feet in

¹ Fornander, *op. cit.*, ii. 59.

² "Tour," p. 91.

breadth, with walls twelve feet high and fifteen feet thick.

The civil and ecclesiastical authorities were not yet greatly differentiated. The king was supreme in both spheres. The highest chiefs were sacred as to their persons, and often officiated as priests; while the priests, on the other hand, were reckoned among the nobility, whose privileges and perquisites they largely shared. Of these, there were many orders and sub-orders. The great high priest kept the national war god, and was in close relations with the monarch. Others were charged with the duty of perpetuating the traditions of the people, together with such medical, astronomical, and other science as there was. They also had the power to designate the victims when human sacrifices were to be offered,¹ and they often had lands set apart for their especial use, and large revenues, which they managed thriftily. They not only officiated in public and private worship, but were consulted as oracles also. They offered sacrifices when a new house was to be begun, and after its com- Priesthood

¹ Human sacrifices were offered only on special occasions, such as the dedication of a temple, the launching of a war canoe, the building of a house for a chief, the sickness of a king or queen, the burial of a chief. The victims were always males, and usually prisoners of war or criminals. After being slain, their bodies were piled in heaps with hogs, and left to putrefy. Jarves ("History," p. 30) says that as many as eighty persons were sometimes immolated at once.

pletion slept in it a night or two before its owner dared occupy it for fear of evil spirits. Disease and death being regarded as the work of demons, certain of the priests were constantly called upon to interfere on behalf of the sick. "Praying to death" was a frequent practice.¹ Besides these medicine-men, there were necromancers, sorcerers, diviners, fortune-tellers, soothsayers, and astrologers. And through all these several relations with gods, royalty, and the common people, the sacerdotal orders contrived to gather into their hands a large amount of social and political influence. Few primitive peoples, indeed, have developed so complex and powerful a hierarchy as the Hawaiians, one evidence among many of the notable aptitude for organization possessed by them.

Death

In common with most nature peoples, the Hawaiians believed that every man has a "double" or second soul. Whether or not this belief was caused by reflection on the phenomena of shadows, echoes, dreams, and the like, it profoundly influenced their

¹ Stewart ("Residence," p. 203) describes the experience of the victim against whom these fervent and effectual "prayers" were directed: —

"Anxiety is awakened; his mind becomes filled with pictures of death; he cannot sleep; his spirits sink; his appetite fails . . . and the effects of his imaginary fears become the real causes of the evil he deprecates. Finding his health and strength affected by these natural but unperceived causes, he considers his fate inevitable; refuses all nourishment as unnecessary and unavailing; pines, languishes, and dies, beneath the influence of his own ignorance and superstition."

customs. Catalepsy or trance they regarded as a temporary departure of the double, who, encountering some friendly spirit, was sent back to the body. At death there was no return. The ghost, however, was supposed to linger near the corpse for a season, powerful enough at first to strangle its enemies, but growing weaker, and leaping off a precipice at last into Hades, or conducted by the gods to its final abode. Battle-fields and various other places were believed to be haunted, and there occurred malicious marchings of ghosts in procession, whom it was death to meet. "If the people were to see a party carrying a dead body past their houses, they would abuse them, or even throw stones at them, for not taking it some other way, supposing the spirit would return to and fro to the former abode of the deceased by the path along which the body had been borne to the place of interment."¹ This was often a cavern, and in it the corpse, sometimes salted and dried, and bound in a sitting posture, was deposited. In the case of chiefs, however, the flesh was stripped from the bones, the latter being wrapped in a bundle, saluted with worship and a sacrifice, which completed the apotheosis of the dead, and deposited in caverns or given to relatives, who carried them on their persons as charms. In the cult of Pele,

¹ Ellis, "Tour," p. 336.

the volcano goddess, a part of the bones were flung into the crater, with the expectation that the spirit of the deceased would thus be "admitted to the society of the volcano deities, and that their influence would preserve the survivors from the ravages of volcanic fire." For a like reason fishermen sometimes gave their dead to the sharks, supposing that these would be prevented by the soul, which entered into them, from devouring its friends. Herbert Spencer's opinion that the entire or partial embalming of the body, common among primitive peoples, was an effort to preserve it entire for the uses of the departed ghost if this should return, as in the case of trance, or against the time of final resurrection¹—while it agrees well enough with the Hawaiian custom, mentioned above, of salting and drying the corpse of the dead commoner—seems to encounter contradiction from their habit of mutilating the bodies of departed chiefs. And this is all the more true, if Alexander's interpretation of the fire which was kept burning on the grave for several days previous to the exhuming and dismemberment of the body be accepted; viz., that it was intended to hasten decomposition.² It is certainly, however, more in harmony with general primitive custom to suppose that this fire was meant for the comfort of the ghost, as were the calabashes of food and drink which were usually placed at the

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. 163, 166.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

tomb, and the human sacrifices which provided company and service for the defunct king in his wanderings through the region and shadow of death.

The mourning customs of the Hawaiians were extravagant, expensive, painful, and often in a high degree demoralizing. Among the most picturesque and least harmful of these was the practice of wailing, whether by the bereaved *in propria persona* or vicariously through hired mourners.

Mourning
customs

“The word which they pronounce in wailing is ‘*au-we !*’ ‘*au-we !*’ ‘*alas ! alas !*’ — prolonging the sound of the last syllable, sometimes for many minutes, with a trembling and agitated shaking of the voice — the confusion and discord thus created is terrific. The attitudes of figure are as various as the tones of the voice. Some stand upright, casting their arms and faces towards heaven, with the eyes closed and mouth widely distended. Some bend forward, their faces almost to the ground, and their hands placed against their knees, or violently pressed into their sides, as if in excruciating, internal agony ; others clench their hands into the hair on each side of their heads, as if to tear it out by the roots ; and all seem to emulate one another in attempts at the most hideous grimaces and painful distortions, while torrents of tears flow from their heads to their feet.”¹

These antic demonstrations were accompanied by others more serious, as the knocking out of one or more front teeth, the tattooing of the tongue, the mutilating of the ears, the scooping out of the eyes, the burning or cutting of the flesh. The obvious and usual interpretation of these ceremonies is, that they were merely an expression of grief. Captain

Mutilations

¹ Stewart, “Residence,” p. 172.

Cook, however, anticipating and confirming the opinion of recent scholars, says of entirely similar customs, observed elsewhere, that he always understood them to be, not so much a symbol of sorrow, as a "propitiatory to the Atoa, to avert any possible danger or mischief from the survivors."¹ They were, that is, rather religious and political than personal in character, involving a recognition of superior rank, on the one hand, and of divine power, on the other. This was especially marked at the death of a king, when, in addition to the self-mutilations aforesaid, there was a period of utter anarchy, during which "every vice and crime was allowed. Property was destroyed, houses fired, and old feuds revived and revenged. Gambling, thefts, and murder were as open as the day; clothing was cast aside as a useless encumbrance; drunkenness and promiscuous prostitution prevailed throughout the land; no women, excepting the widows of the deceased, being exempt from the grossest violation."² A like phenomenon has been observed at Jenna.³ And in both cases, it seems to me less a token of grief, or a proof of the total depravity of the natural man, than a curious and striking exhibition of the primitive belief that all law, divine and human, is incarnate in the

¹ *Op. cit.*, vii. 149.

² Jarves, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³ R. and J. Lander, "Niger Expedition"; quoted by Lubbock, "Origin," etc., p. 269.

person of the king, at whose death it is therefore annulled. A somewhat similar proof of the absence of abstract ideas among the Hawaiians, and of the complete supremacy of the privileged classes over the lives of the common people, is the fact noted by Ellis that they were accustomed to ascribe such vague notions of a future state as they possessed, not to their own meditations, conjectures, and hopes, but to the visions and dreams of the priests.¹

In like manner, the *tabu* was at once religious and political. This extraordinary institution, which was found throughout Polynesia, was a system of prohibitions of an exceedingly complicated and strenuous nature, the violation of which was at once a sin and a crime, and was punished with death. There were regular *tabu* seasons, sacred to the greater gods, and particular seasons proclaimed and ended by the chiefs. During the more strict of these periods "every fire and light on the island or district must be extinguished; no canoe must be launched on the water, no person must bathe; and, except those whose attendance was required at the temple, no individual must be seen out of doors; no dog must bark, no pig must grunt, no cock must crow,—or the *tabu* would be broken, and fail to accomplish the object designed."² The temples and idols, and the persons of the principal chiefs

¹ "Tour," p. 341.

² Ellis, "Tour," p. 366.

and priests were always *tabu*, i.e. sacred, and not to be touched. Any particular place or object might be declared *tabu*, by proclamation or the affixing to it of a flag or other emblem, whereupon it must be avoided. It was *tabu* for women to eat with men, or to partake at any time of pork, banana, cocoanut, turtle, and certain kinds of fish;¹ also, according to Ellis,² of fowl or other foods used in sacrifice, "except in cases of particular indulgence." It is manifest how severe a hardship, as regards both the women themselves and their young and unborn babes, this last prohibition was, confining them as it did to a comparatively scanty and innutritious diet; while the rigor with which it was enforced may be seen in a circumstance narrated by Mrs. Judd. When Kapiolani ("our present ladylike and sensitive Kapiolani") was a girl she resolved, with one of her young friends, to eat of banana. They rushed into the water, concealing the fruit in their hands, and ate it when at some distance from the shore. A priest, however, chanced to see the deed, and the girls were condemned therefor to degradation of rank, and perpetual poverty, and celibacy. But an expiatory sacrifice being suggested by the priest, a young boy, a favorite page of Kapiolani, was seized and strangled, whereupon the sentence was lifted from the offenders themselves.³

¹ Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

² "Tour," p. 365.

³ "Honolulu," p. 96.

Respecting the religion of the Hawaiians, I make Remarks four remarks in conclusion:—1. It was made up of spiritual, ceremonial, social, and political elements, mixed inextricably together; and had, if not its origin, yet its earliest as well as most enduring and vital manifestation in the worship of ancestors and chiefs whose departed spirits had blended with the universe of things. 2. It presents an instructive example of the influence of environment on religion, the tropical situation and amphibious habits of the people giving the shark a prominent place among the gods, and the absence of reptiles making ophiolatry impossible, except as concerns the lizard alone, of which they stood in the greatest dread. 3. It presents the curious phenomenon of one of the most mirthful and careless of peoples evolving one of the most complex and sombre of religions, and submitting themselves completely to its sway. Their deities were mostly of a malignant and degraded nature, their idols hideous, and their ceremonials burdensome and bloody; while toward the worship of the bright heavenly bodies they seemed little drawn.¹ 4. The Hawaiian religion was almost wholly without ethical character, though not without moral influence. It served on the one

¹ Alexander says (p. 35) that "no worship was paid to the sun, moon, or stars." But Vancouver (iii. 23) asserts that the natives chanted invocations to the setting sun at the commencement of a *tabu* season; while Emerson (p. 15) says that the *aumakua* in the sun and moon were "chiefly invoked as detectives in cases of petty thieving."

hand to perpetuate and increase the tyranny of the privileged classes, to anchor the people to their past, to fetter thought, to cast a gloom athwart the world, and in some of its ceremonials to procure and as it were sanctify sexual excesses and irregularities; while on the other hand it served to link the individual to his fellows, to secure obedience to authority, to breed the sense of a national life, and—when in the hands of the wiser and better men—to set metes and bounds to the passionate impulses of the people. We may say of it finally, I think, that it was the indispensable instrument for securing that order which must ever precede justice, and which in this case culminated in the conquests of Kamehameha I. and prepared the way for the introduction of a Christian civilization.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

The relations of the sexes among the Hawaiians were certainly very free. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that anything approaching promiscuity, properly so called, existed. Travellers and missionaries, carrying with them the more rigorous and lofty ideas respecting marriage which have been developed among Christian peoples, and shocked by what they saw, have sometimes spoken as though the institution of the family were almost wanting in the Hawaiian Islands. If, indeed, promiscuity meant love beyond

the limits of matrimony, it would describe the situation there with tolerable accuracy, certainly from Captain Cook's visit onward. But if the term implies, as it certainly ought to do, the absence of all definite marital relationships—the absence, that is, of the individual family as a distinct social institution, and of wedlock as a civil contract and bond—then it no more describes the situation in the Hawaiian Archipelago than any other social situation within our knowledge. General sexual promiscuity probably does not anywhere exist; it probably never has existed anywhere within the historic period. "Communal marriage" has nowhere been found except in the vocabulary of Sir John Lubbock, and in certain social experiments, conducted on a small scale, maintained for a season with difficulty, and vanishing soon "into thin air." The evolutionary hypothesis, that the family has developed by successive stages from prehistoric promiscuity through polyandry and polygyny to monogamy, undoubtedly describes in general outline the course of development which this institution tends to take; but it can be adopted only with manifold reservations and exceptions. Thus, Herbert Spencer holds that "even in prehistoric times, promiscuity was checked by the establishment of individual connexions prompted by men's likings, and maintained against other men by force";¹ while Mr. Darwin

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. 635.

regards it as most likely that aboriginal man "lived in small communities, each with a single wife, or if powerful with several, whom he jealously guarded against all other men."¹ Among the Hawaiians polygyny was practised by such as could afford and command a plurality of wives, being here as elsewhere a class distinction, and therefore the mark of a society considerably advanced and differentiated. Its limits, however, were closely drawn, not only by the poverty of the common people, but also by the inevitable mathematics of nature which keeps the sexes everywhere nearly in numerical equation; by the more general destruction of female infants than male, tending to offset the slaying of men in war, and by the imperative demand of the common man for a wife. The effort of Morgan to show that the system of consanguinity and affinity in vogue among this people points to an earlier form of the family—the consanguine—out of which the punaluan family grew, was admirable for its subtlety and thoroughness, but hardly sound in its conclusions.² That the Hawaiian called all his relatives of the same gen-

¹ "Descent of Man," p. 591.

² Lewis H. Morgan, "Ancient Society." In the "Annual," for 1884 and 1885, certain errors of detail into which Morgan fell are pointed out by Dr. C. M. Hyde and Judge Abraham Fornander. See also criticisms by the Rev. S. J. Whitmee, in "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition, xix. 424, *note*, and by President J. G. Schurman, in "The Ethical Import of Darwinism," 1888, p. 223 *et seq.*

eration with himself "brothers" and "sisters," all those of the generation next preceding "fathers" and "mothers," all those of the second preceding generation "grandfathers" and "grandmothers," all those of the first succeeding generation "sons" and "daughters," and all those of the second succeeding generation "grandsons" and "granddaughters," is a fact as undoubted as it is curious. But that this fact is a kind of linguistic fossil, preserved from a time when groups of brothers were habitually and indiscriminately married to groups of sisters, is at best a doubtful conjecture. It can only be maintained on the supposition that the terms in question were intended to discriminate so far as possible, and describe, relationships of blood, and were used solely because in the conjectured consanguine family it was impossible to determine paternity. But as for the second of these reasons, there could certainly be no confusion as to motherhood, yet "mother" was just as broad and indefinite a term as was "father"; and as to the first reason, it seems a more likely supposition that this nomenclature was meant merely to classify relatives by generations, and according to sex. Westermarck has shown how frequently terms denoting relationship have been used by civilized as well as primitive peoples in a loose sense.¹ It ought to be added that Morgan's opinion that the Hawaiian

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 90 *et seq.*

family was developed out of the foregoing consanguine family by the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters, this being due to observation of the evil effects of such marriages, is contradicted by the fact that in the chiefly families unions of this sort regularly took place up to a very recent date. Among the common people, however, consanguineous marriages were rare. To a considerable extent brothers shared their wives in common, and sisters their husbands, this fact constituting the "punaluan" family, which Morgan regards as the connecting link between the prehistoric "consanguine" and the subsequent "syndyasmian" forms. But this last marital form, in which one man and one woman habitually cohabit, while yet indulging in other intimacies, also prevailed among the Hawaiians from our first knowledge of them. I do not find any traces of a true exogamy, or of marriage by capture.¹

Marriage

Marital engagements were made by parents and friends, generally on the side of the woman, and quite often for both parties. As among the Esquimaux, various tribes of Indians, and some other nature peoples, there was no wedding ceremony, though the groom sometimes threw a piece of *kapa* about the bride, and a nuptial feast was spread.

¹ Fornander (*op. cit.*, ii. 84) gives an account of the forcible abduction of a bride from one island for a chief who dwelt on another; but this was simple theft, the bridegroom not joining in the capture.

The marriage tenure was very uncertain, depending largely upon the will of the husband, though in early times whoever put away his wife, "except for cause, had to reckon with her relatives."¹ Descent was traced through both the male and female lines, though the uterine line decidedly predominated. To explain this fact, it does not seem necessary to resort to the hypothesis of Bachofen, of an early supremacy of woman, or to that of McLennan, of original promiscuity followed by polyandry. However kinship and inheritance through females may have originated elsewhere—and there is no reason except the exigencies of a pretentious theory for supposing that it has in every case had the same causes—three circumstances suffice to explain the fact here: uncertain paternity in "punaluan families," a qualified maternal supremacy in polygynous families, and frequent divorce in all sorts of families.

Kinship
through
female
line

That conjugal love and philoprogenitiveness were comparatively weak among the Hawaiians might be inferred from the frequency with which divorce occurred, from the practice of infanticide,—which was usually accomplished by burying the babe alive, and which resulted, according to Ellis,² in the destruction of two-thirds of the children of the common people,—and from the widespread custom of

Family
love

¹ "Annual" for 1884, p. 51.

² "Tour," p. 298.

giving away offspring. It is also the testimony of most observers, as, *e.g.*, Commodore Wilkes, who says: "I should not be inclined to believe there is much natural affection among them; nor is there apparently much domestic happiness."¹ Westermarck, Sir John Lubbock, and Herbert Spencer have collected testimonies of like import respecting the Hovas of Madagascar, the Amazulas, the Hot-tentots, the Koosa Kaffirs, the natives of Winnebago, the Kabyles, the Beni-Amer, the Chittagong Hill tribes, the inhabitants of Ponape, and other nature peoples.² And while many observations to the contrary effect might be quoted,³ it seems beyond question that conjugal and parental affections among savage and barbarian races are lacking in strength, tenderness, and persistency, as compared with the same sentiments among the civilized. I think it may be said with equal confidence that in all pagan civilizations, ancient and modern, family

¹ *Op. cit.*, iv. 45. Wilkes's statement, quoted on p. 19, that none of the Hawaiian *meles* refer to wedded love is only approximately true. It should be read in connection with Judge Fornander's words, somewhat heightened perhaps by a chivalric loyalty to the people of his choice: "The ancient legends are full of the most touching instances of marital love and of filial affection." ("Annual" for 1885, p. 51.)

² "History of Human Marriage," p. 307; "Origin of Civilization," pp. 50-52; "Principles of Sociology," i. 663.

³ See especially an article by S. R. Steinmetz in "Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft" for August, 1898, entitled "Das Verhältniss zwischen Eltern und Kindern bei den Naturvölkern."

love is in general inferior in all these particulars to that found among Christian peoples.

The character and status of woman being one of the most accurate indications of the degree of development to which a people has advanced, we should expect to find that sex among the Hawaiians occupying a middle position. And it is so, in fact. The descent of rank through the female line gave woman a place of importance, and often elevated her to the topmost station. As queen or regent, she had unlimited political power. But even so, she was involved in the inescapable social degradation of her sex; the highest woman must not eat with the humblest man, nor of food prepared in the same oven, nor of the more nutritious viands reserved by the *tabu* for the male sex. At birth, she was more unwelcome than her brother, and more liable to be thrust alive into the grave. As a child she must eat no food that had chanced to touch her father's dish. As a wife, she was subject to her husband's will, and was cast off, when no longer pleasing, at his option. She was excluded from the interior of the *heiaus*. In general, her tasks were menial. Curiously enough, however, the men attended to the preparation and cooking of food (*poi*), as among the Samoans and Coroadoes, while the women often accompanied their husbands to battle; thus affording support for the opinion that where

Status of
woman

Chastity

the occupations of the sexes are not sharply marked off from one another, woman is likely to be found occupying a higher station.¹ As to chastity, it is difficult to determine with accuracy what the situation was previous to the arrival of Captain Cook. An examination of the ancient traditions makes it clear, however, that the habits of the people were far better in this regard than they afterward became. Cook, indeed, found the females "willing." But it must be remembered that the sentiment—strange and demoralizing, but not wholly dishonorable—prevailed among them, as among so many primitive peoples,² that a generous hospitality necessitated the furnishing of a guest with a temporary wife. And it must be remembered, too, that Cook was esteemed a god. Vancouver testifies that on this occasion he saw little evidence of unchastity, but during a subsequent visit, much.³ It is not to be denied that previous to the coming of the whites intercourse between the sexes was free, as judged by the theoretical standards, or even the general practice of civilized peoples; but it is equally certain that the visitors broke down the ancient restraints, made the people reckless and restless, taught them to violate the *tabus*, and to sell their own persons or the per-

¹ Cf. Herbert Spencer, *op. cit.*, i. 720.

² Westermarck, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75, 130, 131.

³ *Op. cit.*, i. 171 *et seq.*

sons of wives and daughters for gain, gave to lust the sanction of their white faces and superior powers, and so wrote one chapter of the long and tragic story which records the debauching and destruction of weak races by the strong. Taken together, the native and acquired unchastity of the people had brought them to such a condition, before the arrival in 1820 of the first missionaries, as beggars and befouls description. That the tropical climate, the fecundity of nature, the indolent and irregular habits of the people, their scanty or absent clothing,¹ and the one-room huts in which persons of both sexes and all ages were crowded at night, served to assist the white man in overcoming such customs and scruples of chastity as the natives originally had, there can of course be no doubt.

INDUSTRIES

With regard to the industries of the ancient Hawaiians, it must be remembered that these were conditioned by the entire lack of metals, and beasts of burden and other domestic animals, save the dog

¹ The absence of clothing among nature people is not in itself a mark of immodesty, nor is its adoption due to a sense of shame, but rather to the need of protection or the desire for ornamentation. (Waitz, "Introduction to Anthropology," p. 299.) A Hawaiian having been rebuked by a missionary for appearing in his house nearly naked, added to his slight attire, before his next visit, a pair of silk stockings and a hat. (Anderson, "The Hawaiian Islands," p. 297.)

and the hog. The absence of metals prolonged as it were unduly among them the Stone Age,¹ and fixed the materials and form of their implements. The want of domestic animals, as well as of extensive tracts of land, not only prevented their being a pastoral people, but also determined in part the nature and method of their agriculture; besides putting all burdens of labor into the hands and upon the shoulders of men and women. Considering these limitations, the early Hawaiians had made remarkable industrial advances.² Among their implements were stone or lava hatchets, knives of sharks' teeth, and the *o-o*, a digging tool of hard wood. Their principal manufactures were *kapa*, a kind of cloth or paper beaten out from the bark of the mulberry tree, of several qualities and degrees of thickness, dyed often and varnished, and used for manifold purposes;³ mats, fans, fishing-hooks ("much superior to our own," Cook, iii. 150), fish-nets and ropes, woven baskets, numerous do-

¹ It is an interesting question why the Hawaiians and other Polynesians did not discover the art of making pottery—a discovery which so often marks the rise from the savage to the barbarian stage. Suitable clays, though not abundant, were not entirely lacking.

² "In every thing manufactured by these people, there appears to be an uncommon degree of neatness and ingenuity." (Cook, *op. cit.*, ii. 237.)

³ See article by Professor W. T. Brigham in "Annual" for 1896, p. 76, on "Hawaiian Kapa Making." It is said that *kapa* is still beaten in Samoa, though its manufacture substantially ceased in Hawaii nearly thirty years ago. It might perhaps be revived to advantage.

mestic implements, fashioned from hard wood or stone, pans for the manufacture of salt by evaporating sea-water; spears, javelins, daggers, slings (made of human hair or the fibre of the cocoanut husk), bows and arrows; single and double canoes, strong and shapely, often fifty and occasionally a hundred feet in length, painted, fitted with outriggers and with masts carrying sails made of mats; terraces, artificial fish ponds, ditches for irrigation, large trenches for use in one of their favorite sports, and houses and temples. Of the last, some were immense. The houses were of all sizes, from the hut to the "palace." They invariably, however, contained a single room, and were without window or door, except that one small hole was provided for ingress and egress. The framework was built of poles, and was thatched with grass or leaves. Maize and the cereals being unknown, agriculture was confined to the cultivation of *taro*, sweet potatoes, yams, sugarcane, bananas, calabash-gourds, the paper mulberry, and the *awa*.¹ Commerce was carried on to some extent, the products which were grown or manufactured with most success in the several districts and islands being bartered for one another, often at markets held for this purpose.

¹ Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 80. The roots of the *awa* yielded a narcotic liquor which had a stupefying and deleterious effect on those who were addicted to its use.

FESTIVALS AND GAMES

In the Hawaiian Islands there occurred not only markets and fairs for the purposes of trade, and occasional public meetings for the discussion of national affairs,¹ but an annual festival, the *Makahiki*, was also held in the autumn of the year. This served many purposes both by intention and indirectly; but it was principally devoted to games and gambling. Among the sports which were enjoyed here and elsewhere were boxing, foot-racing, bowling, wrestling, surf-swimming, a sort of tobogganing, and throwing and catching the spear. Cock-fighting was also much affected, and the shooting of mice with the bow and arrow,—though this last, singularly enough, was confined to the chiefs. Checkers were played, and children had numerous sports peculiar to themselves; among them the “cat’s cradle” and kite-flying.

¹ The festival and its influence on society, civil institutions, and the religious life constitute a topic in sociology as fascinating as it is important. When one has mentioned the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games of Greece; the *Ludi Publici*—the Circus and Amphitheatre—of Rome; the religious feasts of peoples as far removed from one another as the ancient Egyptians and the Mexicans; the Hebrew festivals and those of the Christian Church; the fairs of mediæval Europe, and of Turkey, India, and North and South America; the bull-fight of Spain; and the modern “camp-meeting,” summer assembly, international exposition, and World’s Fair, he has passed in review a considerable and conspicuous part of the social life of man. These convocations, indeed, prior to the introduction of the printing press, must have been among the most important factors in forming a social consciousness and conscience, and in creating and expressing an effective “public opinion” and patriotism.

Vancouver speaks of witnessing a sort of drama or operatic performance, in several acts, describing incidents in the lives of some members of the royal family, and "supported with a wonderful degree of spirit and vivacity."¹ Strolling bands of musicians and dancers perambulated the country. There were several games of an impure nature, played under the cover of darkness; and a performance of indescribable lasciviousness, the *hula-hula*, has contributed almost as much as anything else to spread the fame and infamy of the Hawaiian Islands throughout the world.² Gambling accompanied almost all the games aforesaid. Ellis says that scarcely an individual resorted to them except for the purpose of betting; and he describes the "excitement, anxiety, exultation, and rage" with which they were attended, — "females hazarding their beads, scissors, cloth-beating mallets, and every piece of cloth they possessed, except what they wore," and farmers and canoe-builders staking the implements of their trade, and tearing the hair from their heads on losing.³ How far, for what reasons, and with what results, these games have been abandoned will be pointed out in the sequel.

¹ *Op. cit.*, iii. 44.

² Some years since I saw the *hula-hula* danced by a troupe of Hawaiians in a play-house in Berlin, Germany; and it was entirely chaste. Those who have witnessed performances of this sort must not suppose that they correctly represent the old-time *hula-hula*.

³ "Tour," pp. 171, 172.

II

MIDDLE PERIOD

CONQUEST

Prehistory IN the preceding section I have described the Hawaiian people, for the most part, as they were when brought to the attention of the civilized world. That condition itself, however, was not strictly aboriginal, but the result of a process of development, to which it seems desirable that brief allusion should be made. A study of the Hawaiian traditions seems to show that their history, prior to the time of Cook, was comprised within five rather distinct periods, these periods forming two cycles—and the first part of a third—of activity and repose. There was first the migratory movement which carried them to the islands; followed by several centuries of tranquillity, of which few vestiges remain. There was next—about 1100 A.D., according to Fornander¹ and Alexander²—an epoch of eager and vehement life; followed, as before, by a reaction. And there was then an era of political ambition and savage strife, culminating in the conquests of

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

Kamehameha I., with a corresponding sequel of peace, except that this was greatly changed in character by the introduction of civilized ideas and customs. The third of these periods, namely, the active portion of the second cycle, has left numerous legendary and institutional remains, marking it as a time of unrest and migratory movement, extending throughout the whole of Polynesia, by which new islands were populated, peoples kindred indeed, but long separated, were fused together, dialects and ideas were enriched, the objects of worship were multiplied and its forms diversified, the feudal system was developed, and class distinctions were deepened. The fifth period, which was separated from the third by a considerable and now obscure time of quietude, was in a high degree militant. The chiefs of the several districts and islands developed into a very definite class, and becoming ambitious for larger powers and revenues, as well as jealous of one another, were engaged in almost constant and promiscuous war, this being sometimes devastating to the country and destructive of life to a frightful degree.

The function and value of war as a civilizing agent in the early stages of society has often been pointed out. But whether war tends to development or disintegration depends on its issue. That it is not, in itself, a good is manifest in the fact that a

Influence
of war

principal measure of its usefulness is the extent to which it renders its repetition unlikely. A series of haphazard hostilities in which two neighboring peoples bite and devour one another has no significance for civilization; the campaign which brings them to an end through the complete triumph and lasting supremacy of the stronger and better may constitute a veritable epoch in the progress of both. Each of these principles finds illustration in Hawaiian history. It cannot, I think, be shown that any substantial good was wrought through the incessant wars of the period under discussion to offset the palpable and manifold mischief. But in the midst of these wars was born the child, in November, 1736, who was destined to give conspicuous illustration to the second of these principles. This was Kamehameha I., one of the notable men of earth. Inheriting a petty chieftaincy, and engaging early in the hectoring hostilities which were in vogue, his thoughts grew gradually larger, and with them his ambitions. Possessed of strong intelligence, of a powerful and tireless will, of patience and tact, of uncommon sanity and steadiness of judgment, of intuitive insight into human character and motive, of unmistakable political and military genius, of a disposition in which the progressive and the conservative were blended to a remarkable degree, and of such physical vigor as

Kame-
hameha I.

carried him through constant excitement and heavy toil to his eighty-third year; he is the most striking figure in the annals of Hawaiian life, if not, indeed, of the recent barbarian world. Conquering the rival chiefs of Hawaii first, and overcoming the almost insuperable difficulties presented by the channels separating this from the other islands of the group, he gradually brought the latter into subjection, until, in 1795, he was substantially lord-paramount of the archipelago. The land everywhere he made his own—in the fullest sense a *terra regis*—apportioning it among his dependents, and dividing up subordinate political power among governors and chiefs with great skill. Anarchy was at an end, order was established, the manifold became one, and the sense of nationality and patriotism had chance to grow. This change had both its effect and its symbol in the fact that whereas before the conquest the inhabitants of different islands pronounced certain words differently, both pronunciations were afterward current in all alike, the people appearing to perceive no difference between them.¹ The laws and customs of the several islands became more homogeneous. The new monarch issued edicts prohibiting robbery, theft, and murder; agriculture and trade were encouraged; roads were established; the ancient religion was reinvigorated. And this building of a

¹ Andrews, "Grammar," p. 12.

nation out of feudal fragments, so strikingly similar in some respects to the process by which the Capets expanded their duchy into the kingdom of France, illustrates in what way, and under what conditions, war serves to advance societies. In general it may be said that the indispensable prerequisite to any considerable social development is *order*, unquestioned and abiding, however arbitrary and unjust. That this does not of itself insure progress, and that it may indeed seriously hinder it after a certain point has been reached, is seen in many stable but stationary or retrogressive societies. But that which order does not guarantee, it nevertheless makes possible, by providing scope and opportunity for the true social forces — religious, domestic, industrial, political, and personal — to do their work. And order is often, as in the case of Hawaii, secured by war.

DISCOVERY

It is necessary now to recall the fact that in 1778, when Kamehameha was in the prime of life, and some seventeen years before the Conquest, the Hawaiian Islands were discovered by Captain James Cook, and brought in contact with what is called Christian civilization.¹ There were thus introduced social

¹ As is well known, Captain Cook ignored the beautiful name which for perhaps a dozen centuries had belonged to at least the largest island of the group, and afflicted them with that of Lord Sandwich —

forces which blended with and profoundly modified those which were indigenous. It would not be just, for example, to attribute to the unassisted genius of Kamehameha the imperial ambitions and the diplomatic and military skill which created the Hawaiian Kingdom; counsels and gunpowder were contributed by the whites to secure that result. We have before us, therefore, the difficult task of discriminating, so far as may seem possible and desirable, the alien and the native forces which have wrought together in the later evolution of the Hawaiian people.

That the islands were discovered by the Spaniards prior to the time of Captain Cook is almost certain.¹

Discovery
by Span-
iards

Moreover, there is considerable reason for believing that a Spanish ship was wrecked off the coast of Hawaii in 1528, and that some of the voyagers — according to tradition, the captain and his sister only — came safely to land, and intermarried with the natives.² In this way there may have been some small intermixture of foreign ideas and blood with those of the aborigines two centuries and a half

a course in unhappy contrast with that which has preserved from oblivion so many aboriginal names in the United States.

¹ The evidences for this opinion were set forth in the "Friend," for October, 1873, and more recently in "Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society," No. 1.

² See the romance "Kiana; a Tradition of Hawaii," by James Jackson Jarves.

before their "discovery." Indeed, apparent traces of such influence have survived, in the lighter faces of certain families, in the famous cloaks and helmets worn by the chiefs,—the style of which was rather Spanish than Polynesian,—in legends concerning a Fountain of Youth similar to that which Ponce de Leon carried to Florida, in certain military evolutions, in the cruciform pavements found in some of the *heiaus*, and possibly in numerous legends and customs akin to those of the Hebrew Bible,¹ as well as in a few words which may have been derived from the Spanish language. Ignoring, however, any previous influence from Europe upon the Hawaiians as slight and somewhat conjectural, we have now to trace that which was exerted upon them by Captain Cook and other visitors up to the year 1820.

Captain
Cook

Captain Cook sighted Oahu January 18, 1778, remained among and upon the islands until February 2, returned to them from a voyage of exploration to the north November 26, wintered there, and was killed in an affray with the natives February 14, 1779; eleven days afterward his ships took their final departure. The whole period of his intercourse with the natives, therefore, was about a hundred days. These were fateful days for the Hawaiian people, bringing to them the first ship, the first white face, the first suit of clothes, the first firearms, they had

¹ Many of these may be found in Dibble, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-30.

ever seen; the first strange tongue they had ever heard; the first notion they had ever entertained of a mode of mortal life different from and superior to their own. And as these days were big with destiny for the Hawaiian people, so they were big with opportunity and with obligation for their visitors. How were they spent? Captain Cook accepted without remonstrance the worship offered to him as the god Lono. He joined the natives in their pagan ceremonies, and then violated their *tabus* and outraged their religious sentiments. He appears to have vouchsafed no word of wholesome instruction to them, though they made eager inquiry concerning the government, manners and customs, industries and faith, of the land whence he came. For the generous supply of eatables with which his ships were provided—and which the natives could ill afford to spare—he made scant return. Theft he punished by shooting; and he sought to decoy or dragoon the king on board ship, that he might be held as hostage for the return of a stolen boat. The first company of sailors that was landed shot and killed a native under no sufficient provocation. A peaceful embassy was fired upon, whether by mistake or otherwise, with fatal effect; and after the death of Cook an entire village was reduced to ashes. Moreover, the occasion appears to have been a carnival of lust. The commander accepted as his temporary wife, and as a

propitiatory offering, the daughter of a chiefess, while his crew introduced and spread far and wide that venereal disease by which the pages of Hawaiian history have been made so inexpressibly sad. A cocoanut tree pierced by a cannon-ball fired from one of Cook's ships stood long upon the shore, giving grim greeting to subsequent visitors. Grim greeting the people gave them, also, though they had received Cook cordially, as a guest from heaven.

In justice to this distinguished navigator, it should be said that he sought, though without success, to improve the native swine by the introduction of an English breed. Reference should also be made to that praiseworthy passage in his work in which he recounts the pains he took to prevent the introduction of disease among the natives by his men. How determined those efforts were cannot now be known; we only know that they were wholly futile. It may be well, too, — partly to correct still further the impression which this narrative may give, and partly that the narrative may correct the quotation itself, — to cite a part of the inscription to the memory of Captain Cook, which is appended to the Introduction in his first volume, to wit: "Actuated always by the most attentive care and tender compassion for the savages in general, this excellent man was ever assiduously endeavoring, by kind treatment, to dissipate their fears, and court their friendship; overlooking their

thefts and treacheries, and frequently interfering, at the hazard of his life, to protect them from the sudden resentment of his own injured people."

VARIOUS VISITORS

For seven years after the departure of Cook's ships, no foreigner set foot on Hawaii. During the years 1786-1789 Portlock and Dixon, Meares and Douglass, and other English and French captains touched, or tarried, at the islands, bartering peaceably with the people. It may be assumed that they did not exert any very salutary influence there, though nothing scandalous is on record against them. In 1789, an American, Captain Metcalf, visited the islands. He doubtless encountered some provocation, or even treachery, on the part of the natives—a fact not to be wondered at—as a result of which he caused one of the high chiefs to be beaten with a rope's end, and when great numbers of canoes came off for trade, massed them on one side his ship, and swept them with a broadside from cannon and musket, which killed above a hundred natives outright and wounded a multitude. The survivors and their friends retaliated by seizing the smaller of Metcalf's two vessels, in command of his young son, massacring officers and crew. Isaac Davis, the mate, they spared, however; and he with John Young—the boatswain of the larger ship, who had been detained on shore—lived

Captain
Metcalf

henceforward till their death among the Hawaiian people.

Davis and
Young

In any account of the social and political development of these islands, a distinct place must be made for the influence exerted by these two men. Surrounded by barbarians, they did not suffer themselves to sink to the level of barbarism; they seem rather to have risen above their former selves, as being made great by the great obligations thrown on them and accepted. They were raised to the rank of chief, were given considerable estates, and were made the intimate counsellors of the king, Kamehameha I., whose powerful mind they instructed, and over whose masterful nature they exerted a most humane and beneficent influence.

Vancouver

The influence of Vancouver upon the Hawaiians was also wholesome and abiding. He visited the islands thrice during the years 1792-1794, and published a record of his observations and doings there. No one can read this account, so substantial and comprehensive in matter, so clear and dignified in style, and so just and kind in spirit, without feeling special respect for its author. He set ashore the first sheep and horned cattle ever seen on the islands, had them *tabu*-ed for ten years in order that they might secure a firm foothold, and provided that women should then be permitted to eat their flesh, as well as men. He laid the keel of the first sailing vessel ever built there.

He gave to one of the chiefs "some vine and orange plants, some almonds, and an assortment of garden seeds." He also introduced the lemon.¹ He firmly refused to sell the natives firearms, though importuned to do so. He returned to their homes some young women who had been abducted the previous year. He sought to remove from the islands certain runaway sailors whose influence was demoralizing, and confirmed Davis and Young in their worthy purposes and positions of power. He made earnest and prolonged efforts to bring to an end the inter-island wars which had wrought such havoc. He reunited Kamehameha and his favorite wife, from whom he had been estranged; and gave the king valuable and valued advice as to the conduct of state affairs, relations with foreigners, and military organization. He even pointed out some of the defects and cruelties of the current religious system, and expounded the Christian faith, — not, however, as was to be expected, with much immediate effect. Vancouver found the natives suspicious and hostile; he left them in so friendly and docile a mood that before his departure they voluntarily ceded their territory, with certain reservations of power, to Great Britain, and hailed with joy his promise to return with religious and industrial teachers. The cession of territory, however, was never ratified by the British government,

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. 156, 189; iii. 53.

and the death of Vancouver made his promise impossible of fulfilment. It is interesting to conjecture what would have been the course of Hawaiian development if the plans, thus thwarted, had carried through. British influence would have predominated, instead of American; the theology, ceremonials, and ethics of the English Church would have been propagated, instead of New England Puritanism; treaties and tariffs and diplomatic correspondence would have had another history; and of Annexation there would have been no talk.

More visitors

The visit and massacre by natives of Captain Hergest in 1792; the visit two years later of Captain Brown, his discovery of the harbor of Honolulu, the assistance given by him to one of the chiefs in war, and his assassination and the capture of his vessels by those whom he had thus assisted; the two visits in 1796 of Captain Broughton—who had been at the islands with Vancouver, and who seems to have shared the latter's magnanimous spirit—his peaceful counsels to the chiefs, his refusal to furnish them with firearms and ammunition, the unprovoked massacre of two of his marines, and the burning of a village in retaliation therefor, accompanied by the killing of several natives; the landing by Captain Cleveland in 1803, of the first horses ever seen in the islands; the springing up of an extensive and enriching trade in sandalwood with

China, and the consequent importation of large quantities of fabrics, boats, liquors, and firearms; the planting of their national colors on the islands by the Russians, and their expulsion by the king; the friendly visit in 1816 of Kotzebue, the Russian discoverer; the visit of Captain Freycinet in 1819, his assurance of the help of France in quelling a revolution which seemed imminent; the baptism on board his ship of two chiefs according to the forms of the Roman Catholic Church; the return of numerous natives from other countries which they had visited, bringing new ideas and impulses; the immigration and baleful influence of certain convicts from Botany Bay, and of other worthless and irresponsible whites; the introduction of the art of alcoholic distillation, and the importation of rum; the naturalization of such foreigners as the Scotchman Alexander Campbell, and the Spaniard and Roman Catholic Don Francisco de Paula Marin¹—the former of whom was in the service of the king for above a year, while the latter for more than forty years set a salutary example to the natives and himself grew wealthy, by acting as mason, ship-carpenter, and physician; by raising oranges, figs, grapes, roses, pineapples, beans, cabbages, melons, turnips, tobacco,

¹ This very interesting man arrived at the islands in 1791. He kept a journal in Spanish which was afterward unearthed in a cellar and translated by Dr. Wyllie. (See Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 216.)

coffee, cotton, "wheat, barley, cloves, tomatoes, saffron, cherries"; by making butter, "cigars, *kukui*-oil, candles, hay," and wine; and by curing beef for ships — these are the principal events by which the growth of foreign influence at the islands may be traced up to the year 1820. They served to rouse the people from their long stupor, to loosen the bonds of tradition and custom, to beget and guide ambition, to impart the sense of property rights, and of the relative values of things, to decrease the habit of theft, to stimulate industry, to discipline the judgment, and to improve the physical condition of the natives by a better food supply as well as to deteriorate it by the introduction of intoxicants and contagious disease.

OTHER CHANGES

That the solidification by Kamehameha of many petty feudal groups into one kingdom was due in part to the inspiration and assistance of foreigners, I have already pointed out. There now followed three other events, of significance only a little less and brought to pass also by the blending of native and alien influences. These were the abandonment of the *tabu* system, the destruction of the idols, and the giving up of the national *makahiki* festival, all of which occurred within six months after the death of Kamehameha (May 8, 1819), and the succession to the throne of his son Liholiho, as Kamehameha II.

§ The story of these occurrences, however interesting, it does not fall within the scope of this work to rehearse. But something must be said both as to their causes and effects. While social, political, and religious elements were mixed inextricably in all three, it may be considered that the festival was especially the expression of the social, idolatry of the religious, and the *tabu* of the political, life of the Hawaiians. And that life, in each of these aspects, had undergone a sudden and profound change. As to the first, being no longer the merely childish people they were aforetime, and having learned from the whites the fascination of dice and playing-cards and saddle-horses and the "flowing bowl," their ancient sports fell into desuetude, and with them the annual convocation which had such manifold influence over their lives. The *tabu* system which Kamehameha I. had rigidly enforced as an indispensable means of political control, long after its supernatural basis had become insecure, could not survive the withdrawal of the master mind and the iron hand. Notions of liberty which had floated to their shores in the white man's ships joined with their own sense of injustice and impatience of restraint to make it intolerable to all classes of the people. The two queens, Kaahumanu and Keopulani, detested it as oppressive to their sex and themselves; the young king wished to be rid of its

exactions that he might plunge more freely into dissipation; the common people had become restive under its burdens; and so, when by an act of Liho-liho it was broken down, and the "straiter sect" made battle on its behalf, an overwhelming victory rested with the liberals (December 20, 1819), and this unique and extraordinary system was at an end. And with it, though far less completely, disappeared idolatry and the power of the priest and sorcerer. These, as grounded more deeply in the religious nature, were not so easily extirpated. Indeed, they have survived, though with a secret and diminished life, to the present moment; and in recent years have shown renewed vigor. That they were so far put away, at the time under discussion, may have been due in part to a growth of religious scepticism in the Hawaiian mind, having no relation to the presence among them of foreigners, and to that groping for a truer faith which we like to find or imagine among pagan peoples. But I think the decisive factor was the influence of the white man, exerted through the teachings of the better sort and the sneers of the worse; as well as through the conduct of both, so entirely irreligious from the native standpoint. However caused, the abolition of the *tabu* system and of idolatry was, like the conquest of Kamehameha I., a long step toward the establishment of civilization in the Hawaiian Islands.

III

LATER PERIOD

RELIGION AND MORALS

THE religious and moral development of Hawaii has been the result of a complex of forces, the chief of which may be classified in five groups:—

1. Native tradition and custom.
2. The influence of discoverers and early visitors, and subsequently of whalers, sailors, and travellers.
3. The teaching and example of Christian missionaries, and of their friends and followers.
4. The influence of certain foreign residents, chiefly European, and unfriendly to the missionaries.
5. Asiatic ideas, introduced by the Chinese and Japanese.

The interaction of these several influences may be succinctly described as the struggle for survival and supremacy of three irreconcilable antagonists: *the primitive cult and morals, the Christian faith and ethic, and civilized scepticism, selfishness, and vice.*

The first of these has already been described in its chief features; some account has also been given of the character and conduct of the white men who first visited the islands. It remains to estimate the influence exerted by the missionaries, and by other white and Asiatic residents.

The Amer-
ican mis-
sionaries

The first representatives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—seven men with their wives, together with three Hawaiian youths who had studied in the Foreign Missionary School at Cornwall, Connecticut—arrived at the islands, March 31, 1820. It is significant of the purpose with which they set out, and prophetic of the manifold influence which they were to exert, that there were only two clergymen among them; a physician, a farmer, a printer, and two teachers completing the party.¹ Others followed them at intervals.²

Their
motives

It is necessary to refer to the motives which led these persons to Hawaii, not so much because the charge was made against them at the islands, and diligently spread throughout Europe, that their purposes were despicable, for that charge is not now anywhere credited; but because it is an important question in sociological theory whether the

¹ The farmer, however, soon returned to the United States.

² A list of missionaries sent out, clerical and lay, will be found in Appendix B, p. 244.

decisive social forces, being psychical, are not also to be reduced, under analysis, to selfish desire.¹ This would be equivalent to the assertion that altruism does not exist, or that it is only a modified form of egoism, an assertion which is based on an unsound psychology, and is obnoxious to common sense. Without doubt the missionaries were moved by mixed motives, but it was obviously a self-sacrificing rather than a self-seeking purpose which dominated their action. They left home and friends behind them; they separated themselves from the comforts of civilized life; they made long journeys under dripping skies; they waded swollen and dangerous streams rather than miss an appointment to speak to the natives; they lived largely on stale provisions which had been four or six months on the sea; they toiled with their own hands at the ropes by which trees were dragged from the forests for the building of churches; they watched over each dusky convert as tenderly as a father over his son; they were content to deny their own children

¹ This is the opinion, among others, of Lester F. Ward. He says: "The fundamental law of human nature, and therefore of political economy, is that all men will, under all circumstances, seek their greatest gain;" "every rational analysis of human action tends to ground it in egoism, and assimilate it to animal action;" "it must be assumed as a basis of all legislation and a postulate for every human transaction that men will pursue the course which secures to them the greatest gain — not gain in its widest sense, as the greatest amount of happiness, but pecuniary or possessory gain." (*"Dynamic Sociology,"* i. 20, 77, 510.)

such educational and social privileges as would have been enjoyed in America, or else part with them for years that they might be sent hither. That the main motive for all this was selfish is incredible; there is no better word for it than "love."¹ And this love, at first a psychological fact, became straightway a sociological fact. The movement of affairs was chiefly determined by it. It opened the hearts of the people to the missionaries, and gave them an influence in all spheres of life which was almost without measure.

Their ideas

The case before us illustrates also the place which ideas and ideals hold among the social forces. The missionaries were idealists. They believed in one God, the eternal, invisible, omnipotent, omniscient, just, and loving Ground of all being; in a universe ordered, coherent, beneficent; in man as the immortal son of God, and of an incalculable value; in the earthly life as a probation, and a discipline in righteousness; in government as an expression of the divine order of the world; in the monogamous family as ordained of God. Their faith was predominantly intellectual and ethical; they had scant sympathy for the æsthetic, the sentimental, the ceremonial, the sportive. Referring to Kapiolani, Dr. Rufus Anderson said:²

¹ That the slanderous reports concerning the missionaries were widely believed in Europe, "das ist eine traurige und keineswegs für unsere Cultur ehrensvolle Thatsache." (Waitz u. Gerland, "Anthropologie der Naturvölker," vi. 447.)

² "The Hawaiian Islands," p. 195.

"Hers was the religion of the Puritans, and the pious reader will desire that all these islanders, from the highest to the lowest, may be like her." During the early years of the female seminary at Wailuku, many of the girls fell sick, and not a few died. It is pathetic to read the complaint concerning them made by their grave New England teacher:¹ "It seemed impossible to restrain them from rude and romping behavior, and confine them to those exercises deemed more proper for females, without serious injury to health." Commodore Wilkes described the boys as "staid and demure, having the quiet looks of old men."² Private letters of that period which I have seen characterize the meetings for prayer as "prim and stiff." As early as 1825 Stewart wrote:³ "The young king and every chief of any importance have regular family worship with their respective households morning and evening, never take a meal without thanksgiving, observe the Sabbath with becoming propriety, attend all the religious instructions, and studiously avoid every kind of amusement and pastime not consistent with strict sobriety and Christian decorum. Their whole minds and their whole time seem given to improvement." "I asked a native the other day which he thought the great commandment. He replied, '*Mai puhi paka*' (Do not smoke tobacco). I asked him if he found it in the Bible. He supposed

¹ Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

² *Op. cit.*, iv. 54.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

it was there, he said.”¹ It was reported that on one occasion in Lahaina enough pipes were “voluntarily given up to fill a box of twelve solid feet.”² It is curious, and significant, that when the Rev. Titus Coan, missionary at Hilo, wrote on scientific subjects, his style was always lucid, direct, and virile; when he wrote on religion it frequently became conventional, exclamatory, and touched with unreality. It was he, according to Wilkes,³ who uprooted the sugarcane and coffee which his predecessor had planted. “Haole” reports that a thriving silk industry was destroyed because the native employees, persuaded by the missionaries, declined to feed the worms on Sunday.⁴ Such were the views of the missionaries. And these idea forces, by which they themselves were swayed, would—they did not doubt—quickly and completely transform the personal and social life of the natives, if once lodged in their convictions. How far this faith was justified, and how far disappointed, we shall see in the sequel.

Their difficulties

The difficulties encountered by the missionaries were manifold. The atrocities and immoralities committed by some of the earlier white visitors, and the energetic and slanderous opposition of certain foreign and vagabond residents, raised a barrier against them at the outset. Admitted—at first, for a year only—

¹ Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

² “Missionary Herald,” xxix. 458.

³ *Op. cit.*, iv. 209.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

they were still and always antagonized by these unscrupulous and malign elements of the resident and visiting population. The series of outrages which were perpetrated at Lahaina and Honolulu in the years 1825-1826, have often been described,¹ and need not here be rehearsed. It will suffice merely to allude to these dastardly efforts, made by consular representatives of European governments, naval officers, sailors, gamblers, and pimps, to break through the safeguards with which the missionaries sought to surround the morals of the people. And on the general subject, the competent and unprejudiced testimony of Captain Beechey and of Commodore Wilkes may be given in conclusion. The former said² that the runaway, idle, and dissolute seamen on the islands did "infinite mischief to the lower order of the natives, by encouraging them in intemperance, debauchery, idleness, and all kinds of vice," and were "nearly sufficient of themselves to counteract all the labors of the missionaries in the diffusion of morality and religion." Commodore Wilkes wrote:³ "The lower class of foreigners who are settled in these islands are a serious bar to improvement in morals, being for the most part keepers of low taverns, sailors' boarding-houses, and grog-shops." Elsewhere he speaks of "the designing individuals

¹ As in Bingham, "A Residence," etc.

² "Narrative," p. 363.

³ *Op. cit.*, iii. 393.

who hold the situation of consuls of the two great European powers," as "the chief agents in the vexations to which the government has been exposed." They exercised "a baleful influence" on the people. They defied and derided the laws and regulations established by the kings and chiefs for repressing immorality and vice, and used their official position to threaten and bully.¹ In this they were abetted by not a few British and French naval commanders.

Psychical
obstacles

But the missionaries met other and subtler obstacles. When they spoke of God, they were understood to refer to Kanoloa, or some other divinity; when they prayed, they were thought to be "praying some one to death"; when they sought to inculcate the Christian virtues, they found in some instances neither any word in the language nor any idea in the mind of those to whom they spoke, answering to that which they wished to describe; when they celebrated the Eucharist, it was believed that the cup was filled with the blood of human victims, slain for the occasion; when they dug cellars for their houses, they were supposed to be preparing for an assault upon the natives; when they built churches, the belief that human sacrifices would be required to consecrate them inspired terror among the on-lookers. In short, the undeveloped and indolent intellect of the people, the preoccupation of their

¹ *Op. cit.*, iv. 7.

minds and the saturation of their traditions with ideas of deity, of nature, and of man, widely different from those taught by the missionaries, and the poverty of their language in ethical and spiritual expressions, constituted obstacles to the work of a psychical nature, far more formidable than opposition or slander. The enterprise was greatly facilitated, on the other hand, by the memory of Vancouver, the powerful influence of John Young, and the general ferment of thought which was both cause and effect of the abolition of the *tabu* system and of idolatry.

Despite these obstacles, the early success of the missionaries was extraordinary. They at once became the teachers of King Liholiho (Kamehameha II.), of his brother and successor, of his wives, and of several chiefs of high rank. The strenuous efforts of these children of nature to sever themselves from their past, to bridge the mental gulf separating them from their teachers, and to comprehend and adopt forthwith points of view and habits of thought which were the heritage of centuries, are interesting and pathetic. Thus Mathison gives account of a visit made by him about this time to the hut of the chief Keeaumoku (Governor Cox) for purposes of barter, and of finding him, with a dozen other natives, listening with eager interest and "knitted brows" to the reading and exposition by a native

Early
success

catechist of a passage in St. John's gospel. So absorbed was he in this exercise, that he did not at first observe Mathison's approach, and when his attention was at last attracted, with a dignified wave of the hand he motioned his visitor to withdraw.

In January, 1822, a spelling-book was printed in the Hawaiian language; later in the same year the first Christian marriage was celebrated; in 1823, the first baptism was administered to Keopuolani, the king's mother;¹ early in 1825, Kaahumanu, the regent, became an ardent disciple and propagandist; in 1826 there were received into the church in Honolulu ten natives, of whom nine were chiefs, including nearly all of high rank on the island;² in the same year it is reported that "a congregation, estimated at not less than ten thousand natives, was assembled . . . to hear the preaching of the gospel."³ After the death of Kaahumanu, in 1832, and under the influence of the dissipated king, Kamehameha III., there was a serious reaction; then came amendment, and in 1837-1839, the "great revival," which added above fifteen thousand members to the

¹ In 1819, two chiefs had been baptized on board Captain Freycinet's discovery ship *Uranie*, by the Roman Catholic chaplain. Arago's comment is: "After exchanging presents with M. Freycinet, the minister Pitt (Kalaimoku) took his leave, and, furnished with his passport to Paradise, went home to his seven wives, and to sacrifice to his idols."

² "Missionary Herald," xxii. 71.

³ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

churches. On the first Sunday of July, 1838, 1705 persons were baptized at Hilo, by the Rev. Titus Coan.¹ During the six years following, twenty-seven thousand were admitted to membership in the churches.

This rapid spread of Christianity was of course attributed by the missionaries themselves to the influence of the Holy Spirit; from another point of view it might be regarded as a psychical and social contagion, of which curiosity, superstition, and above all, suggestion and imitation, were the chief factors.² Probably there is truth in both these explanations. What is obvious is, that the example of the chiefs was a determining factor, both in the nominal adoption of Christianity by the people, and in their various partial abandonments of it in subsequent times. The missionaries themselves recognized this fact and its significance, though not fully; "their advice [that of the chiefs] has all the force of command. . . . the real progress is considerably less than the apparent."³

An officer of the American Board, the Rev. Dr. R. Anderson, visited the islands in 1863; he reported that 52,413 persons had been admitted to membership in protestant churches since the beginning; that

Withdrawal
of the Amer-
ican Board

¹ "Life in Hawaii," p. 55.

² See Le Bon, "The Psychology of Crowds."

³ "Missionary Herald," xxix. 454, 456.

about 8000 had been excommunicated, and that the membership at that time was 19,679. The following summer the Board, at his suggestion, withdrew from the control, or further direct prosecution of the work, and this was assumed by the native churches and pastors themselves. The islands were then regarded as "Christianized." The conclusion was *naïve*, and the action calamitous.

Roman
Catholic
mission

In the meantime, other missionary enterprises had been set on foot. Three priests of the Roman Catholic faith arrived in 1827; their propaganda met with considerable success, and also roused the most violent opposition. In 1831 they were banished by the government. In 1837 they returned, and the unhappy controversy broke out afresh, ending in an ordinance issued by the king and chiefs forbidding the teaching of the Catholic faith. Many of its adherents were severely punished. In 1839 an edict of toleration was issued; and soon after, under threat of immediate hostilities from the captain of the French frigate *Artémise*, a convention was signed and accompanied by the payment of twenty thousand dollars as a guarantee of good faith, declaring the Catholic worship free, providing a site for the erection of a church, and liberating those who were undergoing imprisonment on religious grounds. In 1840 a cathedral was begun in Honolulu.

The mission of the Church of England was estab-

lished in 1862, in accordance with the desire and invitation of the king. Four years later his successor, Kamehameha V., addressed the House of Bishops of the American Protestant Episcopal Church as follows:—

English
mission

“The liturgy, constitution, and teaching of the Episcopal Church seem to me more consistent with monarchy than any other form of Christianity that I have met with; and the principles of education it inculcates seem to me, from practical evidence before my eye, to have the effect of making its members more moral, religious, and loyal citizens. The system of family training it adopts in female schools is admirably fitted to cure a great social evil of this land.”¹

In 1863 the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of the Interior, one of the justices of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General, and the governor of Maui, a native, were connected with the English Church. According to the Rev. Titus Coan, Bishop Staley went twice to Hilo, where substantially the entire population already professed and called themselves Christians, and without so much as consulting with the pastor through whose labors this transformation had been wrought, undertook to establish there a church of his own order. The Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, in their turn, declared to the Christian natives, of both protestant communions alike, that they had been deceived, that they were still outside the true Fold and therefore exposed to everlasting punish-

¹ Quoted in Staley, “Five Years,” etc., p. 73.

ment, that their marriages were unsanctified, and—in the case of that major portion of them who still adhered to the American missionaries—that the moral restraints which had been laid upon them were needless and tyrannical.

Religious
reaction

These divisions and animosities among those who confessed the Christian faith were doubtless sorely perplexing to the simple Hawaiian mind, and tended to diminish confidence in the supernatural and redemptive character and social value of that faith. As a result of this and other causes, a revival of paganism began to make itself felt during the reign of the last of the Kamehamehas, who was himself charged with licensing sorcery and the *hula*, and offering sacrifices of black pigs. This tendency became more marked, however, in subsequent reigns. On returning from his tour round the world, Kalakaua said: "I have seen the Christian nations, and observed that they are turning away from Jehovah. He represents a waning cause. Shall we Hawaiians take up the worship of a god whom foreigners are discarding? The old gods of Hawaii are good enough for us."¹ In a speech made by Kaunamano in the presence of the king and in a Christian church, it was said: "The Hawaiian gods gave victory to

¹ As reported by the Rev. S. E. Bishop in "Hawaiian Gazette," February 11, 1893. This article, and others by Mr. Bishop, discuss thoroughly this matter, so little understood in the United States.

Kamehameha I. I do not blame you for worshipping Jehovah, but neither do I blame you for worshipping our dear little Hawaiian [household] gods." Kala-kaua revived the ancient practice of apotheosizing the king, and invited and accepted worship from the people, with sacrifices and oblations. In 1886, a charter was procured from the Privy Council, through fraud and deception, for the Hale Naua Society, which posed as a sort of freemasonry, but which was, in fact, "a strong and widely ramified organization for the propagation of idolatry and sorcery, including adoration and sacrifices to the new and great god at the palace." The same year there was established a Hawaiian Board of Health, which was really an organized and authorized body of *kahunas*, or "medicine-men." It was also charged that Liliuokalani offered sacrifices to Pele, permitted the representative of the *hula* god to be worshipped at Waikiki, visited the grave of a famous sorceress on the island of Molokai, and led in the pagan demonstrations which were made about it. After her deposition a call was issued in a paper published in the Hawaiian language, for a day of fasting and prayer for her restoration to the throne. The author of this call was a "confessed heathen," and his wife a priestess to a *unihipili*, or familiar spirit; but he was also chief deacon, *luna*, in a Christian church of Honolulu. And that it seemed impossible to subject him to dis-

cipline for his pagan practices, under the Congregational forms of that church, shows the extent to which the revival of the primitive cult had gone. A competent observer asserted his belief that not one member of that church in five, perhaps not one in ten, was entirely free from the fear of *kahunas*, and the practice of idolatry, and that the other churches were generally in a like condition.

“There is a broad mass of beliefs in devil-gods, great and small, and in their demands, their influences, their powers upon men, which ramify into all the incidents of daily life and the relations of society. These beliefs are inwrought into the mental structure of the people. . . . Under the influence of Christian life and power, these dark fears and evil claims grow more or less dormant. But in trouble, and especially in sickness, they are almost certain to revive in controlling power. For is not sickness always due to the malignant presence of a demon? Now and then a native Christian may be found whose matured faith triumphs over all these powers of darkness. There is too much reason to believe that such are few. . . . There are now among Hawaiians large numbers in organized bodies of *kahunas*, sorcerers, voodooos, medicine men, who are active propagandists and missionaries of idolatry. By inherited disposition the people are greedy of their teachings.”¹

In the case both of Kalakaua and of Liliuokalani, their defection was partly the cause and partly

¹ “It ought to be mentioned that a crusade was undertaken against idolatry, 1885-1890, under the leadership of the Rev. J. Bicknell, a retired pastor of a Hawaiian church, with such success that great numbers of fetishes (*aumakua*) of various descriptions were brought to him by men who were nominally Christians but who were converted under his radical exposures of the secret worship they were offering to the old gods, and their fetishes were burned by him.” (The Rev. W. B. Oleson, in a letter to the author.)

the effect of this reviving paganism among the common people. It was in part the cause, for the yielding and imitative nature of the natives and their extraordinary veneration for royalty, as well as their hereditary tendency toward heathen habits, gave to the example of the king and queen decisive weight. It was in part the effect, for it seems clear that these sovereigns, seeing in the reactionary tendencies of the people an opportunity to increase their power over them by means of supernatural sanctions, and thus to strengthen themselves against the danger of dethronement which seemed imminent, deliberately reverted to the policy of the ancient kings.

The religious condition of the islands at the taking of the last census, in 1896,—so far as it can be statistically shown,—was as follows:—

TABLE OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF, BY NATIONALITY

NATIONALITIES	NUMBER MAKING RETURNS	PER CENT PROT- ESTANTS	PER CENT ROMAN CATHOLICS	PER CENT MOR- MONS	TOTAL PER CENT
Hawaiians	25,637	50.09	32.87	17.04	100.00
Part Hawaiians	6,271	51.70	41.99	6.31	100.00
Hawaiian born foreigners	8,438	21.34	78.48	.18	100.00
Americans	1,650	85.09	12.85	2.06	100.00
British	1,371	86.36	13.13	.51	100.00
Germans	677	87.44	12.26	.30	100.00
French	63	9.54	90.46	....	100.00
Norwegians	162	95.06	4.94	....	100.00
Portuguese	7,959	1.84	98.15	.01	100.00
Japanese	764	93.06	6.42	.52	100.00
Chinese	953	87.83	7.03	5.14	100.00
S. S. Islanders	223	79.82	18.83	1.35	100.00
Other nationalities . .	354	49.72	48.30	1.98	100.00
Totals	54,522	42.68	48.36	8.96	100.00

It will be observed that one-half of the population made no returns of their religious belief. Of these, 41,711 were Asiatics, presumably Buddhists and Confucianists; this leaves 12,787 others not reported, of whom 5382 were natives and 2214 part Hawaiians. What is striking in these figures, so far as concerns the natives, is the large percentage of adherents to the Roman Catholic and the Mormon faiths, and the large number making no return and presumably therefore indifferent. The statistics of the native churches connected with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (Congregationalist), as given in the Annual Report for the year ending June, 1898, are instructive. They include the following items: Total membership, 4642; received on confession of faith, 113; removed by death, 118; suspended, 31; excommunicated, 26; restored, 17; children baptized, 244; attendants at the Sabbath-school, 588. It will thus be seen to how slender a remnant the native communicants in the Congregational churches of the islands have been reduced since 1856, when they numbered 23,652.¹

¹ I append the following extract from the very one-sided "Statement" of the Hawaiian Patriotic League, not as giving a correct exhibit or interpretation of the facts, but as showing the use to which they were put in political discussion:—

"In the last census [1890], the religious element was left out altogether, for the reason that the missionary party who presided over the operations of the census could not allow their decline to be made public together with the ascendancy of their rivals . . . ; it is thus seen that very considerably less than 22,000 natives remain under the spiritual sway of

The same Association reports 54 Portuguese, 150 Chinese, and 428 Japanese church members.

The adoption of Christianity was accompanied by moral reforms, many and widespread, if not profound. Moral changes

"*Tabu* meetings"—a kind of rude Ethical Society—sprang up spontaneously, being guided rather than suggested, in the first instance, by the missionaries. "The members were numbered first by tens, then by hundreds, and soon by thousands."¹ At these meetings were discussed practical questions respecting character and conduct. Some of the reforms which took place will be more particularly described hereafter; it will suffice at this point to say that for nearly fifty years from the landing of the first missionaries, the moral improvement of the native population continued, and that then a retrogressive movement set in, which has only just now been checked, if indeed it does not still continue. Among the causes of this regression these six are the most obvious:—

1. The death of many of the early pastors and teachers, the withdrawal of the American Board, and

the annexationists' faction, and, moreover, it could easily be ascertained from the missionary publications that, within the last few years, the Hawaiian communicants reported by their churches have diminished in the proportion of about 90 per cent (2200 against 21,000); the reason of this is solely the anti-patriotic, anti-Hawaiian, anti-loyal attitude assumed by the missionary churches and their schools, wherein teaching the children to pray for their country and sovereign has been discontinued." (In Blount, p. 450.)

¹ Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

in general the close of the era of active propagandism and of paternal care;¹

2. The passing of such men as Mr. Richards (1847), Judge Lee (1857), Mr. Armstrong (1860), Mr. Wyllie (1865), and Dr. Judd (1873);

3. The decay and disappearance — by the death of Kamehameha V. in 1872 — of the royal family;

4. The succession to the throne of Kalakaua and Liliuokalani, and the sinister influence of the "palace party";

5. The increase of wealth and of a mixed and menial and predominantly male population, through the development of the sugar industry; and

6. The transition from one mode of life to another, which commonly — as in the case of the negroes of the southern United States, and European immigrants — affects the second generation more unfavorably than the first, loosing them from one moral and social anchorage, but not as yet fixing them securely in another.

Theft

When the missionaries arrived, thieving was well-nigh a universal habit with the natives. The chiefs, finding soon that this practice brought them into

¹"The windward side of Hawaii has now [1887] one native pastor, where a few years ago there were two foreign and four native pastors of Hawaiian churches. Is it any wonder that churches are closed and every little hamlet is a rendezvous for heathen orgies when helpful religious forces are withdrawn from such regions?" (The Rev. W. B. Oleson in "Jubilee Celebration," p. 20.)

disrepute with foreigners, took servants with them on their visits; while they themselves conversed, the servants sequestered such articles as they could lay their hands on, within doors or without. Sometimes the visitors picked the locks of the trunks on which they sat, under cover of their flowing robes, which also served to conceal their booty as they went away.¹ Within a very few years, however, valuables might have been left exposed and unprotected, day or night, in many portions of the islands, without loss.

Another subject to which the missionaries applied themselves from the first with special energy, was that of sexual morality. They had derived from their biblical and puritan training pronounced and unyielding views as to the exclusive legitimacy and the divine character of monogamy, and the consequent sanctity and life-long tenure of the marriage tie. Moreover, they saw in this "the means of securing the rights of children, of women, and of all . . . the foundation of domestic order and happiness, the bond of social peace, the extinguisher of infanticide, licentiousness, and various national evils."² But, as we have already seen, they found a people inheriting the traditions of the polygynous and punaluan family, and of gross laxity in sexual relations; besides being further debauched by the example of visiting and resident whites, and saturated to a degree with the

The family

¹ Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

² "Missionary Herald," xxxii. 359.

venereal diseases which these had introduced. The very language, the whole moral atmosphere, was charged with the salacious.¹

The missionaries set up forthwith a high and rigid standard of morals, and sought to impose it so far as possible on natives and foreigners alike. The former were more docile than the latter, and submitted themselves to a considerable measure of restraint. The first Christian marriage was celebrated in 1822, the groom in this case, however, being one of the Hawaiian youths who had studied in the United States. The following year Koapini and Kalikua were wedded, and a missionary writes:—

“Thus on the 19th of October, 1823, was the marriage covenant, in a Christian form, introduced among the chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, and the first knot tied, by which the institution will be likely to be acknowledged by the chiefs of all inferior ranks throughout the nation. This we consider as another era in the history of our mission.”²

And it was so. There soon developed “quite a *furor* for the marriage service.” At Lahaina Mr. Richards united six hundred couples in six months,³ the usual fee being “a few roots of kalo (taro) or a

¹ “All those restrictions which decency has imposed upon civilized communities are wholly unknown here. We know of no word or phrase in the language which is proscribed by their views of delicacy, to either sex, in any company or circumstances whatever.” (“Missionary Herald,” xxxi. 188.)

² “Missionary Herald,” xxi. 103.

³ Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

fowl, a little bundle of onions," or the like. "Two thousand marriages were solemnized in the single year following June, 1830,"¹ and nearly four thousand during 1832-1833.² The missionaries were of course vehemently set against the immemorial chiefly custom of consanguineous marriages. Ellis gives account of a proposed union between a brother and a sister of high rank, which was approved by a council of chiefs. The opinion of the missionaries being asked, they opposed its consummation, and with success, on three grounds; viz., that such marriages "were forbidden in the Word of God, were held in abhorrence by all civilized and Christian nations, and had seldom been known to leave any descendants to wear the honor or sustain the rank of the contracting parties." It is curious that the only one of these considerations which appeared to have much weight with the chiefs, namely, the last, was also the only one of the three which was substantially without foundation.³ The missionaries also made courageous and unremitting effort to prevent irregular relations between native women and visiting whites, and

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

² "Missionary Herald," xxix. 458.

³ The fact seems to have been overlooked by the missionaries that the chiefs, who commonly married near kindred, were conspicuously superior both mentally and physically to the common people, to whom that practice was forbidden. On this general subject see the careful, though somewhat one-sided, work of A. J. Huth, "The Marriage of Near Kin" (1887)

with such measure of success at first that Ellis wrote:¹ —

“I was recently informed by an officer, who in his Majesty’s ship *Cornwallis* visited Hawaii some few years ago, that not less than four hundred females came on board the vessel on the night of her anchoring in one of the harbors; but such is the change since that time, that when the *Blonde* arrived [1825] not one female ascended her sides.”

But hereditary habit and racial tendencies are not so easily uprooted. Reaction set in and continued, insomuch that Judge Lee, an uncommonly judicious observer, in his First Annual Report of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, in 1853, felt impelled to say: —

“The monster evil of the land — the one which goes to the vitals of this nation — is licentiousness. This subject is not a pleasing one; but when we are daily called upon to witness the most disgusting scenes in our public streets — common prostitution stalking abroad at noonday — and the nation speedily wasting away under our very eyes with its consuming fires, it is criminal to keep silence.”

“Haole” — who was particularly skilful in detecting and happy in portraying indecencies — tells of his being entertained, the same year in which Judge Lee wrote as above, by a graduate of the mission seminary at Lahainaluna, and more recently judge of the district in which he lived, who after conducting family prayers with notable grace and solemnity, offered his mother, wife, or sister to

¹ Introduction to Stewart, p. xxiii.

his guest for the night, in consideration of a silver dollar.¹ A competent writer in the "Friend" for February, 1889, said: "In the intimacy of four years' pastoral work among Hawaiians nearly thirty years ago, the present writer came to know that out of a large group of the most intelligent and interesting young women of his churches, there was not a single one whose record was not stained. . . . There is little reason to hope that the Hawaiian has advanced very much since in that respect." And now, a decade later, the condition is not greatly altered. The *kanaka* is in this particular about at the level of the negro in the southern United States; and together they present impressive proof of the almost insuperable difficulty of establishing and maintaining in purity the monogamous family in colored races not far removed from the state of nature.

Another reform to which the missionaries devoted themselves with assiduity concerned the drinking habits of the people. What with their native *awa* and the liquors imported by trading vessels, they had become seriously debauched. Kamehameha I. was addicted to the use of intoxicants, a habit from which, however, his iron will gave him power to break away. He also proclaimed and enforced prohibitory laws. But his son and successor fell

Intemper-
ance

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 388.

into all manner of extravagances and excesses,—an example which Kamehameha III. during the early part of his life too closely imitated. Distilleries were established; “to drink and be drunken was the test of allegiance and loyalty.”¹ When the missionaries arrived, it is hardly too much to say that the people had become a “nation of drunkards.” Entire villages—men, women, and children—were not seldom to be found in a state of helpless intoxication. The chiefs were labored with, and persuaded to a sobriety more or less thorough and abiding; and their example became, of course, in this as in other respects, normative for the people. Laws concerning the matter, and applicable to natives and foreigners alike, were passed in 1829. Rules were adopted also, covering the conduct and discipline in this particular of church members. Temperance societies and fraternities were organized, and became popular. And in a few years I find it reported in almost every number of the “Missionary Herald” that intoxication among the natives was “exceedingly rare.”

A law promulgated by king and chiefs in 1835, ran in part as follows:²—

“We prohibit drunkenness. Whoever drinks spirituous liquors and becomes intoxicated, and goes through the streets riotously, abusing

¹ Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

² “Blue Book,” p. 159. For an account of this book, see p. 110.

those who may fall in his way, he is guilty by this law. He shall pay six dollars in money, or in other property of the same value, and for want thereof, he shall be whipped twenty-four lashes, or be condemned to labor one month, or be imprisoned one month, at the expiration of which he shall be discharged.

"2. If the intoxicated person, or a riotous person not intoxicated, breaks down a fence, he shall pay one dollar for each fathom, be the same more or less. And if the offender does not make redress according to this enactment, he shall rebuild the fence which he has broken down," etc.

In 1838 a license law was enacted, which provided¹ that

"any house having been licensed for retailing spirits, may sell by the glass, but not by any large measure; and its doors must be closed by ten o'clock at night, and all visitors must go away until morning. And on Sunday such house shall not be opened from ten o'clock on Saturday night until Monday morning."

"In August of the same year a law was passed prohibiting the importation of ardent spirits after January 1, 1839, and imposing a duty on wines of fifty cents per gallon."² The intention of this law, however, was frustrated by the king being compelled, under threat of war, to sign a treaty with the French government, which provided, among other concessions, that the wines and brandies of that country should be admitted, and at a rate of duty not exceeding five per cent *ad valorem*. In October, 1840, a law was enacted absolutely prohibiting the manufacture, sale, giving away, and use of intoxicants, as follows:³ —

¹ "Blue Book," p. 160.

² Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

³ "Blue Book," p. 161.

"Articles of food, potatoes, sugarcane, mellons [*sic*] and other things are taken and transferred into intoxicating drink ; the people remain in idleness, without labor, in consequence of their lying drunk ; wherefore the land is grown over with weeds and is impoverished. In consequence of our desire to promote the order and welfare of the kingdom, we have assembled to reflect on the subject and now enact this law. 1. If any man take potatoes, sugarcane, mellons or any other article of food, and transform it to an intoxicating liquor and drink it, he shall be fined one dollar, and if he shall do the like again, the fine shall be two dollars, thus the fine shall be doubled for every offence even to the utmost extent.

"2. If any one make an intoxicating liquor, such as is mentioned above, and give it to another to drink, he, too, shall be fined according to the first section of this law.

"3. Whosoever shall drink that which another has prepared in order to produce intoxication as mentioned above, he, too, has violated this law, and shall be fined in the same manner as he who prepared the drink."

About this time strenuous efforts were put forth to increase the sentiment and habit of sobriety among both the native and foreign population. The king and chiefs, of their own accord, formed a temperance society, as did also many of the whites, with Dr. Judd, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as president (1844). A high license law was passed in 1843, under which the number of grog-shops in Honolulu was at first diminished and then increased. But whatever general regulations were in force, a prohibitory policy had been followed as concerns the natives from the enactment of the first laws up to the year 1882, when these restrictions were removed, and

a general license law was adopted by a legislature as incompetent and corrupt perhaps as any ever convened in the islands. During nine months of the following year alcoholic liquors were taken out of bond for consumption, to the amount of more than thirty-two thousand gallons in excess of the same period of the preceding year.¹ The immediate increase in the quantity of intoxicants brought in, and the general course of the traffic in recent years, may be seen in the following table :²—

CONSUMPTION OF INTOXICANTS (gallons), 1860-1895

YEAR	SPIRITS	WINES	BEERS, ALES, etc.	YEAR	SPIRITS	WINES	BEERS, ALES, etc.
1860	10,112	3,512	671	1882	66,150	8,512	63,156
1865	10,209	1,057	479	1883	80,980	10,535	106,847
1870	17,808	1,779	361	1884	84,175	12,114	108,567
1871	17,181	1,278	358	1885	80,115	20,992	118,384
1872	17,248	1,422	231	1886	100,703	49,564	138,714
1873	19,024	1,638	550	1887	74,918	71,613	126,665
1874	16,827	1,219	420	1888	68,227	76,144	143,067
1875	19,872	3,532	330	1889	74,816	79,201	146,072
1876	17,696	1,210	791	1890	88,884	117,800	223,417
1877	21,575	1,052	1,596	1891	88,539	144,417	217,180
1878	30,249	4,980	20,233	1892	86,441	110,849	135,334
1879	36,428	5,084	65,433	1893	46,013	113,051	163,706
1880	48,042	8,994	49,398	1894	41,136	213,939	170,077
1881	52,944	9,181	83,309	1895	39,653	280,913	158,497

The introduction by the Japanese of *sake*, a beverage of a peculiarly unwholesome and mischievous quality,

¹ "Annual" for 1884, p. 65.

² I have computed this table chiefly on the basis of statistics given in the pamphlet, "The Liquor Traffic in the Hawaiian Islands," Honolulu, 1895, from which I quote two paragraphs:—

"A careful estimate made by Custom House Officials places the expense

has assisted in the demoralization of the natives, and, on the whole, their present condition as regards sobriety is lamentable. In his Report for the years 1896-1897, Chief Justice Judd said, "In every class of our population this vice [drunkenness] seems to be on the increase." The following table exhibits the number of convictions for drunkenness during the last decade:—

CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS, BY NATIONALITY

NATIONALITY	1886-87	1888-89	1890-91	1892-93	1894-95	1896-97
Chinese	23	6	16	7	7	19
Japanese	26	46	101	88	125	160
Portuguese . . .	130	154	140	56	78	86
Hawaiian	1,162	1,455	1,648	757	974	1,009
All other nationalities	630	977	930	443	466	588
Total	1,971	2,638	2,835	1,351	1,650	1,862

to the country of the liquor traffic for 1894 at \$1,250,000 at least; at the same ratio the people of Hawaii have spent over \$17,500,000 for drink from 1870-1895."

"We have received in the average about \$190,000 yearly during 1870-1895 in duties, licenses, and fines from the liquor traffic. That sum does not begin to pay for the annual loss to the country of money diverted from enterprises of a character to enrich the nation; for the withdrawal from ordinary business of the men employed in the liquor traffic; for the destruction of the wage-earning and saving power of those who indulge in liquor; for the loss of life directly due to drink; to say nothing of the progeny of poverty, moral and physical weakness, and vice which liquor breeds and fosters and passes down to the coming generations as its legacy."

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS

As we have seen, the early government of Hawaii was feudal. The legislative, judicial, and executive functions were united and were absolute, in the person of the king. Some idea of constitutional government, however, and interest in it, had been imparted to the chiefs by various visitors from Europe and America, and this the missionaries sedulously nurtured. But that they were not always wise in giving it direction, appears in the fact that when, in 1825, they were asked to prepare a code of laws, they recommended the Decalogue. In 1827 the legislative function began to differentiate itself from the executive, the "first regular and definite laws, after the manner of civilized nations," being enacted in that year by the chiefs in council, against homicide, theft, adultery, and liquor-selling.¹ By these laws the monogamous family was defined and established. Trial by jury in capital cases had already, in 1825, been recommended by Lord Byron, commander of the *Blonde*, and came gradually, and without statutory authorization, into general use.

In 1835 "a better code of written laws for the securing of rights than had before been published or enforced"² was enacted. Four years later, one of the missionaries, the Rev. William Richards, at the

¹ Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

² "Missionary Herald," xxxii. 358.

earnest solicitation of the king and chiefs, gave them a course of lectures on political science, and became their adviser in affairs of state. He was not, indeed, an expert in economic or political science, but an impressive testimony to his practical wisdom was given by Commodore Wilkes;¹ and a testimony yet more impressive is found in the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and the Laws which were soon afterward adopted, largely through his influence.

Bill of
Rights

The Bill of Rights—often called the *Magna Charta* of the Hawaiian Islands—received the signature of the king, June 7, 1839. Its history is instructive, as illustrating the pedagogic methods of the missionaries. Political and legal topics had been for some time under discussion by the students and graduates of the mission Seminary at Lahainaluna, both orally and in the paper published at that school. One of these graduates was directed by the king to draw up for his inspection a statement of political principles; this was done, after five days spent in discussion with the chiefs; the document was then considered by the king, recommitted, revised, considered afresh by the king, revised again, and then adopted and promulgated. It reads as follows:²—

“God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on the face of the earth in unity and blessedness. God has also bestowed

¹ *Op. cit.*, iv. 8.

² Jarves's translation in “History,” p. 316; also to be found in the “Blue Book.”

certain rights alike on all men, and all chiefs, and on all people of all lands.

"These are some of the rights which he has given alike to every man and every chief of correct deportment: life, limb, liberty, freedom from oppression, the earnings of his hands, and the productions of his mind, not however to those who act in violation of the laws.

"God has also established governments and rule, for the purpose of peace; but in making laws for the nations, it is by no means proper to enact laws for the protection of the rulers only, without also providing protection for their subjects; neither is it proper to enact laws to enrich the chiefs only, without regard to enriching their subjects also, and hereafter there shall by no means be any laws enacted, which are at variance with what is above expressed, neither shall any tax be assessed, nor any service or labor required of any man, in a manner which is at variance with the above sentiments.

"The above sentiments are hereby published for the purpose of protecting alike both the people and the chiefs of all these Islands, while they maintain a correct deportment, that no chief may be able to oppress any subject, but that chiefs and people may enjoy the same protection, under one and the same law.

"Protection is hereby secured to the persons of all the people, together with their lands, their building lots, and all their property while they conform to the laws of the kingdom, and nothing whatever shall be taken from any individual, except by express provision of the laws. Whatever chief shall act perseveringly in violation of this constitution shall no longer remain a chief of the Hawaiian Islands; and the same shall be true of the governors, officers, and all land agents.

"But if any one who is deposed should change his course, and regulate his conduct by law, it shall then be in the power of the chiefs to reinstate him in the place he occupied previous to his being deposed."

This bill, recognizing the inalienable rights of the people, and specifically the right of private property in the soil, and placing restrictions upon the taxing

power of the chiefs, amounted to a virtual rejection of the feudal system and commitment to a constitutional form of government.

First Constitution, 1840

The following year, October 8, 1840, the Constitution itself was proclaimed. It affirms certain fundamental principles, namely, the divine law as source and norm of human law; the separation nevertheless of the religious and civil spheres, and complete liberty and toleration in the former; impartiality in the making and execution of law; and an open, full, and fair trial by due process of those accused of crime. It then recites the history and affirms the sovereign rights of the Kamehameha dynasty. In the body of the Constitution the effort is made to differentiate more clearly, and ground more securely, the functions and powers of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. It is provided that the legislature should be composed of two houses, meeting separately—though joint sessions might also be held—a House of hereditary Nobles, fourteen in number, besides the king and premier; and a House of Representatives, chosen annually by the people, in accordance with forms, and of a number, to be afterward determined.¹

¹ The "edict" of November 2, 1840, specified seven as the number of such representatives. The statement of Alexander (*op. cit.*, 229) that the Constitution provided for "a legislative body, consisting of fifteen hereditary nobles and seven representatives, who sat together in one chamber," seems to be inexact in all three clauses.

The Executive included the king, the premier, and the four governors of the larger islands, with which, for administrative purposes, the smaller adjacent islands were associated. Subordinate to these were the district tax-collectors, who not only assessed and collected the revenues, but had charge also of public works and acted as judges "in all cases arising under the tax law."

The Judiciary included the District Courts and the Supreme Court. The judges of the former were appointed by the several governors "at their discretion"; supreme judges to the number of four were appointed by the legislature; with these sat the king and the premier, the king being *ex officio* chief judge.

It will thus be seen that the Constitution of 1840 was a crude affair, its phraseology vague and provocative of abundant misapprehension, its differentiation of the legislative, judicial, and executive functions wanting in precision, and its spirit curiously compounded of customary and feudal, biblical, British, and American elements; but it was a long step onward. It established the Hawaiian Islands as a civilized and independent nation, and led to their recognition as such by the United States in December, 1842, and by Great Britain and France a year later, when the office of Secretary of State or Minister of Foreign Affairs was instituted. It must be regarded, as Commodore Wilkes esteemed it,

Recogni-
tion

"among the most obvious benefits of missionary labors."¹

New laws

During the two years which followed the adoption of the Constitution, various laws in harmony with its provisions were passed. These, together with a few others of earlier date, and the Constitution itself, were published in an English translation, by the Rev. William Richards, at Lahainaluna, in 1842.² It is an interesting fact that a volume of statute laws had been issued, both in the original and in translation, before any lawyer had as yet set foot upon the islands. Some of these laws, indeed, owed their origin, or even their form, to foreigners; but in the main they were the product of the Hawaiian mind, as modified by contact with Europeans, and were written by such men as David Malo, John and Daniel Ii, Boaz Mahune, and Timothy Keaweiki.

These laws, as was to be expected, are untechnical and wanting in precision, no distinction being made

¹ *Op. cit.*, iv. 20. How far the king was moved in this matter by European example is indicated by his remark to Mr. Hill, "On a small scale I am endeavoring to do, with the blessing of God, what Peter the Great of Russia did on a large scale." (Quoted in Hopkins's "Hawaii," p. 52.)

² This little volume of two hundred pages and fifty chapters is usually called the "Blue Book," not from the stringency of the laws which it contains, but from the bluish green color of its covers. It is now exceedingly rare, no copy being found in the libraries of Harvard or Yale University. On this account I quote from it somewhat more copiously than I should otherwise do.

between crimes and torts, and between felonies and misdemeanors. They are direct and *naïve*; often like those of the Deuteronomic legislation, paternal and advisory, rather than mandatory; a curious blend of aboriginal and European elements. I cannot better illustrate the social condition of the time than by somewhat abundant citations from this quaint volume.¹

Chapter 47 provides for

“two distinct kinds of courts. One kind where the judges or Courts tax officers decide the case by themselves, and the other kind where they cannot act by themselves, but certain other persons must be associated with them. These persons who are associated with them shall constitute the jury. . . . For trying high crimes their [*sic*] must be a jury empanelled. . . . The juries shall be appointed in the following manner. The governor of the island of Hawaii, and the representatives of that island shall unite, and select forty wise, reflecting, just men, not foolish men, not men of anger, not intemperate men, they shall select none but just men, and shall write their several names on separate pieces of paper of the same kind, and shall deposit the papers in a box. . . . The tax officer or some other officer shall draw out twelve names without previously looking at them. These men, thus drawn, shall constitute the jury for that court. . . . The pay of every native man called to sit on a jury shall be a quarter of a dollar per day. . . . All foreigners who act on a jury shall be paid for their services one dollar pr. day. . . . When a man is tried for a capital offence, he shall not be condemned to die unless the jury is perfectly agreed. But in trials for other crimes three-fourths of the jury shall be sufficient to decide the case. But if three-fourths do not agree, the Judge shall have power to send them to a tight room, shut the door, set a guard and confine them there until three-fourths are agreed. . . . If the accuser and the accused be both

¹ See also laws respecting intemperance, p. 99, and education, p. 170.

foreigners, then the jury shall be made up of foreigners only. If there be no foreigner on either side, then there shall be no foreigner on the jury. If there be a foreigner on one side and a native on the other, then in forming the jury half shall be foreigners and half Natives. . . . The badge of the constables shall be a little stick, made round, with the name of the King at the top of it."

Taxation

On the subject of taxation, the laws are quite explicit, one of the chapters opening with the sagacious observation, "Not even wisdom can give protection to a nation without a revenue." Three chief forms of taxation were provided for—a poll tax, a land tax, and a labor tax—to which were later added licenses for stores and victualling houses, and customs duties. The poll tax was to be paid in money, or in kind, as follows:—

"For a Man, one dollar.

For a Woman, half a dollar.

For a Boy, one fourth of a dollar.

For a Girl, one eighth of a dollar.

"But feeble old men and women shall not be taxed at all. In the back part of the islands, where money is difficult to be obtained, Arrow Root will be a suitable substitute. Thirty-three pounds of good arrow-root will be taken for a dollar;" also cotton, sugar, nets, and later, *kukui* nuts, turmeric, fish, coffee, or "any other article of a fixed value."

But in 1842 the law permitting poll taxes to be paid in arrow-root was repealed, "for it is an unprofitable article."

The land tax was laid as follows:—

“A large farm — a swine one fathom long.
A smaller one — a swine three cubits long.
A very small one — a swine one yard long.
If not a fathom swine, then ten dollars.
If not a three cubit swine, then seven and one half dollars.
If not a yard swine, then five dollars.

“Those plantations which have no farms in them, under the direct taxation of particular chiefs, and have never had any during the remembrance of any of the people now alive, they shall be taxed as follows in this new assessment : —

“A large plantation — two fathom swine.
A smaller one — one fathom swine.
A very small one — a three cubit swine.”

The law covering the labor tax provided that the people should not be required, as heretofore, to work for the king and chiefs “on every week of the month.”

“The first week of the month the people shall work two days for the king and one for the landlords ; the second week in the month they shall work one day for his Majesty the King, and two days for the landlords, and the next two weeks the people shall have to themselves.”

Exempt from the labor tax, however, were “all persons who are sick and those in attendance on the sick,” “feeble old people,” any parent having “four children, and neither of them adopted by another,” and any “single individual” who “has a large number of invalids living in his house, amounting to as many as four.” And these sage and quaint statutes add : —

"And here is a word of advice for industrious landholders, tenants, landlords, sub-tenants, servants of chiefs, persons having no land, and vagrants. According to this book it is best to have one, and one only fixed business, and to engage in it with high hopes in Him who aids us by the rain from Heaven. . . . As for the idler, let the industrious put him to shame, and sound his name from one end of the country to the other. . . . For three months the tenants of him who thus entertains the sluggard shall be freed from labor from their landlord. Such is the punishment of him who befriends the sluggard. Let him obtain his food by labor. . . . Landlords, oppress not your tenants; condemn them not without a cause, while they continue to do well. If a land agent do thus to his tenants, and dispossess them without a crime on their part, he shall pay a fathom swine to his tenant, and the tenant shall not be dispossessed."

Fishing
grounds, etc.

An important section of the new laws effected a re-distribution of fishing grounds and forest rights as follows:—the waters outside the coral reefs were assigned to the people, and those between the reefs and the beach to the landlords, while certain specified grounds and species of fish were "placed under the protective taboo of the tax officers for the King." Sandalwood trees, the *o-o* and *mamo*, and "all large trees such as one cannot clasp," were *tabu*-ed for the king, the penalty for the violation of the *tabu* being a fine of "one hundred rafters each five yards long."

Local gov-
ernment

Local self-government was encouraged by the provision that "the people of any village, township, district, or state" might assemble and devise laws "respecting roads, fences, animals, and all such like

things." Individual initiative and an efficient civil service were encouraged by the curious provision that

"those country people who search for knowledge, whoever they may be and in whatever part of the kingdom, if they write to me or my Premier, and we perceive that their proposition is a good one, it shall then be adopted as a statute of the kingdom. The Governors and the King, too, will suffix their names to the writing. They will also promote such seekers after knowledge to higher stations; and make them officers in their various places. And such persons shall receive one tenth part of the King's income at their station, and also one tenth part of the land agent's income. Such is the reward which his Majesty offers to all in the kingdom who act as above, and they shall moreover be admitted to the council of the nation."

To the same end, it was enacted that whoever engaged in any new and useful occupation should be free from taxation, and should receive the sum of ten dollars as a bounty. The principle of division of labor was recognized and recommended;

"for a man to engage in only one kind of business is the surest way to enrich the nation; thus, one engage in agriculture, another in the fisheries, another in canoe building, another in house building, another in trade; each important business of the nation having a separate class of laborers, in accordance with the opinion of the skilful. . . . Let every one also put his own land in a good state, with proper reference to the welfare of his body, according to the principles of Political Economy. . . . If a man wish to become rich, he can do it in no way except to engage with energy in some business."

Much sad meaning may be read between the lines of those laws which provide that

"no master of a vessel shall discharge or leave any of his men to remain on shore without the consent of the Governor or his agent in writing. . . . No captain of a foreign vessel shall receive on board his vessel any native, to proceed to sea nor shall any native go on board any foreign vessel, unless he first obtain the written consent of the Governor or his agent. . . . Furthermore, at half-past seven a clock in the evening, a gun will be fired from the fort, when all boats and seamen shall return to their ships [Honolulu only] . . . It shall be considered irregular for sailors from foreign ships to spend the night on shore without the leave of the Governor, and whoever is found on shore one hour after sunset, shall be put in confinement until morning," etc. [Lahaina only].

A stringent law prohibited all "unnecessary worldly business" on the Sabbath, and "all worldly amusements and recreations, and all plays," as well as "all loud noise, and all wild running about of children, and all conduct which creates confusion in worshipping assemblies." Gambling on the Sabbath was twice as heinous as on other days, and was punished with a double fine. Another law was framed "to promote the quiet of the night"; it *tabu*-ed "all loud hallooing and other noise" after nine o'clock, or sounding of an "instrument unnecessarily," or going "about in a riotous or tumultuous manner," unless a man be "in straitened circumstances . . . as in case of fire," in which event he is permitted to "call aloud."

Certain preambles are specially interesting, thus : —

"The basis on which the kingdom rests is wisdom and knowledge" [of Schools]. "It is a well-established fact that a nation cannot enjoy peace nor the people prosper, unless they are taught in morals and

religion" [of the Sabbath]. "If any man is not respected and beloved it is a great misfortune to him, he cannot enjoy peace and happiness when he is thought to be a bad man ; nor can a man be happy or well refrain from anger even to sin, when one speaks to him in reviling language" [of Reviling, Swearing, and Slander]. "Indolence is a crime involving the best interests of the state. Even in days of old it was considered a crime, and at the present time it is perfectly clear that it is a downright misdemeanor" [of Vagrancy]. "It is a great misfortune to children not to be well taken care of, nor is the misfortune theirs only, the nation also suffers, for before many years the parents will all be gone, and all the business will be devolved upon the children, not merely the business of husbandry, but that of government also" [of Parental Duties]. "It would be a sad thing for the community, if the law did not give protection to him who labors for hire" [of the Hire of Labor]. "The subjection of the people to the chiefs, from former ages down, is a subject well understood. . . . Hereafter no law of the kingdom shall take effect without having been first printed and made public."

The first person executed for a capital offence against these laws was a high chief, who a few years before would have been, not the subject, but the sacred source, of law. Their adoption, together with that of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution, not only marked the turning-point of Hawaiian history ; it constitutes also an episode singularly suggestive to the sociologist. For when taken in connection with its causes and issues, it exhibits in small space, in simple forms, and in swift action, certain of those psychical and social forces by which the jurisprudence and social institutions of the larger world have been fashioned.

The gift to the people of a constitutional government, with the right of suffrage and of trial by a jury of their peers, was not an unmixed blessing. As in the case of the negroes in the United States upon the adoption of the XIVth and XVth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, it endowed the natives with a freedom, and thrust upon them responsibilities, for which they were little prepared. And it set aside an authority—that of king and chiefs—which, though liable to great abuse, was absolute and often beneficent; and subjected the people to their own caprice, and later to exploitation by politicians, “quibbling pettifoggers and unscrupulous lawyers.”¹

John Ricord

In October, 1843, John Ricord, a young lawyer from the state of New York—“a man of talent and an indefatigable worker”²—arrived at Honolulu, and was interested in public affairs by Dr. Judd, who became just at that time the first Minister of Foreign Affairs. The following spring the office of Attorney General was created, and filled by Mr. Ricord. Familiar with both civil and common law, and the first lawyer to visit the islands, he rendered great service in giving regular shape to their growing and as yet inchoate institutions.

The path which this development subsequently

¹ Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Mr. Coan says, “It may be doubted whether universal suffrage and trial by jury has been a benefit to the country.”

² Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

followed was, however, just at this time suddenly blocked, and a very different one opened up, by the cession of the islands under pressure to Lord George Paulet, as the result of various controversies and misunderstandings. Paulet hoisted the British flag, "appointed his officers, civil and military, all over the islands, enlisted and drilled soldiers among the natives and foreigners, and taught them rebellion against their lawful sovereign."¹ But after five months the islands were restored to their independence by Admiral Thomas, and entered again upon the course of constitutional development which they had been pursuing.

In 1845 the first Minister of Public Instruction was appointed, and the first legislature met. By this time constitutional ideas had so far pervaded the minds of the chiefs, that they saw the necessity of purging the political system of inconsistencies; of securing a responsible government separate from the person of the king; of more accurately defining its several functions; of determining and securing the mutual rights of the native and foreign-born citizens and of aliens; and of adjusting the legal relations of the several classes and of individuals, to the land. For the securing of these ends, Mr. Ricord prepared, by order of the legislature, three bills which were in effect amendments to the Consti-

"Paulet episode"

Further organization of the Government

¹ Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

tution, but which were called "Organic Acts." The first of these acts, "to organize the Executive Ministry of the Hawaiian Islands," was passed in 1845; it provided for five ministers — of Interior Affairs, the Premier; of Foreign Relations; of Finance; of Public Instruction; and the Attorney General — "defined their relations to the crown and to each other," and constituted them, together with the governors of the several islands, and certain honorary members appointed by the king, a Privy Council. The second act, "to organize the Executive Departments of the Hawaiian Islands," sets forth in considerable detail the functions and duties of these several departments, and amounts to a body of administrative law.¹ The third act, "to organize the Judiciary Department of the Hawaiian Islands," was passed in 1847; it made the judges independent of the executive, distinguished between "causes, civil, criminal and mixed, maritime, and probate, personal and real," prescribed rules of practice, and more fully organized the various courts and defined their jurisdictions. "The 4th and 5th of Kamehameha III., embody full digests of civil and criminal principles, expressed in concise and comprehensive terms, and adopting, as nearly as is thought necessary and practicable, the conclusions, doctrines, prin-

¹ It provided for a Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles; see p. 140.

ciples, definitions, and applications of the Common Law of England.”¹ That these constitutional and legal changes were in no sense forced on the Hawaiian people, but were freely and intelligently accepted or modified by them, and the extent to which this process must have been politically educative to their leaders, appear from these words of Mr. Ricord’s Preface:—

“The compiler, in obeying that resolution, has submitted at intervals portions of the succeeding code to his Majesty in cabinet council of his ministers, where they have first undergone discussion and careful amendment; they have next been transferred to the Rev. William Richards, for faithful translation into the native language, after which, as from a judiciary committee, they have been reported to the legislative council for criticism, discussion, amendment, adoption or rejection. The two houses have put them upon three several readings—debated them section by section with patience and critical care, altering and amending them in numerous essential respects, until finally passed in the form in which they now appear.”

The next considerable step onward in the political development of the islands was taken in 1850, when the House of Representatives was enlarged from seven to twenty-four members, and the ministers were authorized to sit in the House of Nobles. Later, a commission was provided for, to prepare a new constitution. This Constitution, which was drafted for the most part by Chief Justice Lee, was adopted by the legislature, and went into effect

Second
Constitution,
1852

¹ Statute Laws, Preface, p. 7.

December 6, 1852. It does not seem needful to give the provisions of this instrument in detail. It marks a great advance upon the Constitution of 1840 in clearness of conception and precision of statement. It incorporates the principles of the Organic Acts of 1845-1847; differentiates more fully the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of the government; continues for sentimental reasons the curious office of *Kuhina Nui*, or Premier; provides for universal suffrage, without qualification either for representatives or voters; and places important checks on the arbitrary powers of the king. Thus it is to be regarded as a distinct triumph of the "foreign" over the native influence in the development of Hawaiian political institutions.

This Constitution remained in force twelve years, through the remainder of the reign of Kamehameha III., and that of Kamehameha IV., who died in 1863. His elder brother and successor to the throne, Kamehameha V., was a man of intellectual ability, independence, and pertinacity of purpose, considerable familiarity with foreign politics, and aristocratic and reactionary tendencies. He believed that the people were not fitted for the exercise of political rights, and he was jealous of foreign influence in affairs of state. He therefore declined to make oath to maintain the existing Constitution, and on August 20, 1864, proclaimed another.

While this Constitution was not so reactionary as had been anticipated, it was so in considerable degree. It omitted the clause found in the preceding Bill of Rights, guaranteeing elections by ballot; it abolished the office of *Kuhina Nui*; it reduced the maximum number of Nobles; it diminished the powers of the Privy Council, and correspondingly increased those of the king; it threatened the independence of the judiciary; it provided that Nobles and Representatives should sit together in one house; and it established a property qualification for Representatives, and a property and—in the case of those born since 1840—an educational qualification for the suffrage. This last was abolished in 1874 by constitutional amendment.

Third
Constitution,
1864

That this Constitution, having no other source or authorization than the will and proclamation of the king, was accepted by the people, native and foreign, and remained in force—with certain relatively unimportant amendments—nearly twice as long as any other, namely, twenty-three years, shows that though the nation had in form passed from the feudal to the constitutional stage, chiefly authority was still deeply grounded in the sentiments of the people. Perhaps it shows, too, in the later years of that period, the forbearance of the leaders among the so-called “missionary party.”¹

¹ I append two definitions of this phrase:—1. “The term ‘missionary

Lunalilo

The king died December 11, 1872, and with his death the Kamehameha dynasty became extinct. His successor was Lunalilo, who died February 3, 1874, without naming a successor. The principal candidates for the throne were Dowager Queen Emma, widow of Kamehameha IV., and Kalakaua. The former was largely favored by the natives, and was a lovely and capable person; but she was a communicant in the English Church and was believed to be lukewarm toward the American influence. By strenuous efforts she was defeated and

party' is now used in the islands in a political sense. It consists of the early white inhabitants and their immediate descendants, who have become a family compact in religious, social, commercial, professional, and political matters, in which they are opposed to a larger part of the white population, and almost all the natives." (V. V. Ashford, in Blount, p. 203.)

2. "A missionary here means, in the political slang of the day, any one who is not affiliated with a few of what I conceive to be the worst elements of demagogues. It makes no difference what he is, a non-believer or a Buddhist, if he affiliates with the party for good government, he is generally called a missionary." (M. M. Scott, in Blount, p. 480.)

These two definitions illustrate the "sweet reasonableness" of much recent discussion in Hawaii.

The future impartial historian of Hawaiian affairs is likely to give, I think, this verdict concerning the conduct of the missionaries and their descendants, taking them together, that they were loyal to the monarchy and served it faithfully, with whatever mistakes of judgment; that they maintained it in power long after it would otherwise have fallen of its own weight and under foreign assault; that they consented to its overthrow only when no other reasonable course was left open to them; and that from first to last they stood steadfastly between the natives and foreign aggression of divers sorts, their stanchest protector and wisest counsellor; it is to be hoped that the historian will not have occasion to add, that with the transference of power from the hands of the "missionary party" to

Kalakaua elected,¹ thus precipitating a riot which was only quelled by the interposition of British and American marines. Kalakaua was wanting in the intellectual ability, the sanity of judgment, the moral fibre, the chiefly dignity, and sense of responsibility, which had characterized more or less fully all the monarchs of the Kamehameha line. During five or six years prior to 1887 it was becoming increasingly obvious that his principles and conduct were suffering a relapse into barbarism. His reign was marked during this period by the gradual assumption of arbitrary powers, by encroachments on the prerogatives of legislature and people, by unnecessary and extravagant expenditures and the exploitation and impairment of the public credit, by shameless corruption in the disposal of government franchises, and by the deterioration of the civil service.² Yielding to an aroused and threatening public opinion, the king appointed a new Cabinet, and on July 7, 1887, proclaimed a revised constitution.³ The

Kalakaua

Fourth
Constitution,
1887

the United States by annexation, and by the influx of foreigners, the unmitigated competition of whites, and the introduction of American political methods, the *kanaka* was forced to the wall. This is what the more discerning among them fear most, and not without reason.

¹ What means were used to influence the minds of the members of the legislature, I do not know; bribery was charged by the adherents of Queen Emma.

² For a full account of these matters, see Alexander, in Blount, p. 178 *et seq.*; Oleson, in Senate Report, p. 496; and Hon. A. Kahi (a native), *idem*, p. 758.

³ This Constitution and that of 1864 are printed in parallel columns in

more significant provisions of this Constitution, which in other respects was substantially identical with that of 1864, are as follows: Art. 20 makes ineligible to election to the legislature all government officials and employees, and prohibits members of the legislature from holding any civil office, except that of a member of the Cabinet. / Art. 41 makes the ministry responsible to the legislature, and thus to the people rather than to the crown, by providing that Cabinet officers shall be dismissed by the king "only upon a vote of want of confidence passed by a majority of all the elective members of the Legislature, or upon conviction of felony," and that "no act of the King shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a member of the Cabinet, who by that signature makes himself responsible." Art. 48 withdraws the right of absolute veto hitherto possessed by the king, — such veto being overridden by a two-thirds vote of the elective members of the legislature. Arts. 56, 58, and 59 increase the number of Nobles, attach a property qualification to the office, limit their term to six years, and deprive the king of the power to appoint them, such power being vested in a body of electors comprising all male residents of Hawaiian, Ameri-

the pamphlet entitled, "Sketch of Recent Events." No mention of it, except in the chronological table, is made in the first edition of Alexander's History, prepared for use in the Hawaiian schools and published in 1891.

can, or European birth or descent or allegiance, of twenty years old or over, who own property to the value of three thousand dollars, or are in receipt of an income of not less than six hundred dollars, who are able to read, and who have resided for three years in the islands,—the last two qualifications not applying to persons resident in the kingdom at the time of the promulgation of the Constitution. Art. 62 removes the property qualification of Electors of Representatives. Art. 78 explains that when the Constitution refers to any act as being done by the king or sovereign, “it shall, unless otherwise expressed, mean that such act shall be done and performed by the Sovereign, by and with the advice and consent of the Cabinet.”

These provisions stripped the king of such remnants of arbitrary power as remained to him, separated the government from his person, established a responsible ministry, admitted European aliens to the suffrage, and gave to the “foreign element” complete control of the House of Nobles. That these concessions were wrested from Kalakaua by force—partly “in the form of a well-drilled battalion of the Honolulu Rifles, composed of white men”¹—there is no doubt; it was not inaptly called the “bayonet constitution.” It was therefore to be expected that the king would, so far as possible, construe it in his own

“Bayonet
Constitu-
tion”

¹ “Friend,” August, 1887, p. 64.

interest and evade its behests. And to this effort the remaining years of his reign were in truth largely devoted, an effort which the loyalty of the natives — inextinguishable despite their comparative indifference to the person of Kalakaua, fanned into a fresh flame by this revolutionary assault upon their supremacy, and directed by certain shrewd whites — rendered in considerable degree successful.

From this time on, the racial conflict is the conspicuous and decisive element in Hawaiian politics.¹

“ Wilcox
Rebellion ”

In the summer of 1889 occurred the “ Wilcox Rebellion,” “ the only instance in Hawaiian history in which the natives tried to assert themselves politically without foreign help.”² On the morning of July 30, Robert W. Wilcox, a half-breed who had been edu-

¹ Cf. the following frank statement by the Hon. S. M. Damon (in Blount, p. 44): The Hawaiians “ have attempted in every succeeding Legislature [since the promulgation by Kamehameha V. of the third Constitution, in 1864] to work together, but there has always been a disintegration in every Legislature. They could not hold themselves together compactly as a body. Whenever they have had the opportunity to exercise this power it has not been at the level of the intelligent Anglo-Saxon idea of making laws or carrying out a system of government. It has chafed the Anglo-Saxon. He would not tolerate it. He has found that he could control it indirectly, if he could not directly, by his superior education and intelligence. The Hawaiians had grown to a feeling of independence, and in company with the queen, they wanted to throw off that Anglo-Saxon domination which has been with them and controlled them all these years. . . . It is the clashing of two nationalities for supremacy.”

² From Statement of the Hawaiian Patriotic League, in Blount, p. 452.

cated in Italy, and who for some time—with the probable connivance of the king and Liliuokalani—had been engaged in fomenting and organizing native discontent, occupied the government buildings with a considerable band of armed insurgents, their purpose being to compel the restoration of the Constitution of 1864. They were repelled, however, about a score being killed or wounded. Wilcox was tried on the charge of treason, and acquitted by a jury of natives.

Kalakaua died January 20, 1891, and his sister Liliuokalani succeeded to the throne. Her political and religious sentiments were reactionary, as her brother's had been¹; and her private character and habits were not above suspicion. She declined at first to sign the existing Constitution on the ground that "there was a general feeling in the community, and principally amongst the native Hawaiians, that it was not a good constitution, as it had been forced on the king and the Hawaiian people."¹ Yielding, however, either to the counsels of her husband, or to pressure from the Cabinet, she took the oath, January 29. But the mutual hostility between natives and foreigners, and between the various groups on each side, grew constantly more acute. It would perhaps be difficult to find elsewhere in the world a society of similar size so broken into cliques,

Liliuokalani

¹ Statement of Liliuokalani, in Blount, p. 391.

so suspicious and accusative and tempestuous. This is painfully and sometimes ludicrously apparent in the testimony included in the Blount Report, containing so many innuendoes, and open and heated charges of bribery, subterfuge, and unchastity.¹ Manifestly, the "Paradise of the Pacific" was not without its serpent. This hostility solidified itself in certain leagues, one of which—the Hui Kalaiaina, or Hawaiian Political Association—claiming a membership among the natives of about three thousand, repeatedly petitioned the queen, as Kalakaua had before his death been besought, to promulgate a new constitution. It was asserted that over eight thousand names were signed to petitions of this nature.² As to the Constitution of 1887, in particular, the League made this complaint:³—

"First. This constitution deprived the Crown of Hawaiian Islands of its ancient prerogatives.

"Second. This constitution based the principles of government on the forms and spirit of republican governments.

"Third. This constitution opens the way to a republican government.

"Fourth. This constitution has taken the sovereign power and

¹ Thus, Charles T. Gulick, a former Minister of the Interior, sneered at the early missionaries as "message-bearers," "sky-pilots," "the anointed"; at the "gentle Puritan" as "smudging with his dirty paw the pages of European history"; at the "missionary party" as given to "cupidity," "drivel," "moral obliquity," "bullying and browbeating." (In Blount, p. 279 *et seq.*)

² In Blount, p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

vested it outside the King sitting on the throne of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

"Fifth. This constitution has limited the franchise of the native Hawaiians."

Of these five considerations — which are really but two — it is clear that the first was paramount and the second subsidiary; in other words, that the memorial sprang from reverence for monarchical institutions and for the person of the chief, rather than from any conviction that the people ought to participate more fully in the function of government. Moreover, it seems probable that the desire for a new constitution, instead of being spontaneous with the natives, was itself engendered in their minds by Kalakaua, the queen, and their adherents.¹

On January 14, 1893, the queen announced her determination to abrogate the existing Constitution and proclaim another, which should restore and safeguard her own rights and those of her native subjects. Of course, such an act would be revolutionary, — though not more so than that which forced the existing Constitution upon Kalakaua. In the view of some, the announcement of such a purpose was a virtual abdication. And at any rate, there could be no doubt that the proposed instrument would be reactionary and disastrous in its provisions.² The

Proposed
Constitution

¹ See Chief Justice Judd's statement in Senate Report (1893-1894), ii. 445.

² This Constitution may be found in full in Blount, p. 581. It

ministers, however, refused to sanction the new Constitution, and dissuaded the queen from executing her purpose. Announcing to the natives that her plan had been thwarted, she promised to carry it out at some future date. Great excitement prevailed at Honolulu among all parties. It was obvious that the various antagonisms long held in check, but steadily growing, had reached the point of inevitable outbreak. A "Citizens' Committee of Safety" was organized.¹ The programme proposed by this committee included the abrogation of the monarchy, and the establishment of a Provisional Government, the ultimate object being annexation to the United States.

The queen and the Cabinet, alarmed at the situation, addressed a proclamation to the people, and a communication to United States Minister Stevens, declar-

limits freedom of speech and of the press so far "as may be necessary for the protection of Her Majesty, the Queen, and the royal family" (Art. 3); vests the control of the military somewhat more explicitly in the queen (Art. 26); pronounces her "private lands and other property" inviolable (Art. 39); gives her power to appoint the Nobles, for life (Art. 57); limits the right to vote for Representatives to subjects (Art. 62); re-imposes a property qualification on electors of Representatives (Art. 62); provides that the number of Representatives may be doubled (Art. 60); fixes the tenure of office of Supreme Court Judges at six years (Art. 65); revives the office of governor of the several islands, which had been abolished by the legislature of 1887, and authorizes the queen to appoint and commission such governors for the term of four years (Art. 73).

¹ This committee was composed of thirteen white residents, six of them Hawaiian subjects and the other seven citizens of the United States, of Great Britain, and of the German Empire.

ing that the proposal of a new constitution had been made "under stress of her native subjects," and giving assurance that "any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land [would] be sought only by methods provided in the Constitution itself." But though this promise was accepted and approved by the queen's supporters assembled in mass-meeting, it came too late, and was too much distrusted by the foreign element, to prevent the impending crisis.

In response to a request from the committee, the United States Minister caused troops to be landed from the United States ship *Boston*, for the protection of the persons and property of American citizens. A Provisional Government was organized also by the committee, consisting of an Executive Council of four members,¹ the first of whom was to act as President and Chairman of the Council and as Minister of Foreign Affairs, "and the others severally administering the Departments of Interior, Finance, and Attorney General respectively, in the order in which they are above enumerated, according to existing Hawaiian Law as far as may be consistent with this proclamation."² An Advisory Council was appointed, which should "also have general legislative authority."³

Provisional
Govern-
ment

¹ S. B. Dole, J. A. King, P. C. Jones, and W. O. Smith.

² "Two Weeks," p. 34.

³ This was composed of S. M. Damon, Andrew Brown, Lorrin A. Thurston, J. F. Morgan, J. Emmeluth, H. Waterhouse, J. A. McCandless,

On the afternoon of January 17, 1893, the Committee of Safety and the members of the proposed Provisional Government took possession of the Government Building, there being no resistance, and proclaimed the abrogation of the "Hawaiian Monarchical system of Government," and the establishment of a Provisional Government as aforesaid, all officials except the Queen, Marshal, and Cabinet being requested to retain their offices, and all laws and constitutional principles not inconsistent with the new *régime* being continued in force. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended and martial law declared by the Executive Council, and the surrender of the palace, police station, and barracks was demanded. The queen yielded to these demands.¹

On January 19 a commission was despatched to

E. D. Tenney, F. W. McChesney, F. Wilhelm, Wm. R. Castle, W. G. Ashley, W. C. Wilder, and C. Bolte, nine of whom were members of the Committee of Safety.

¹I, LILIUOKALANI, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the Constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, his Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government.

Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do under this protest and impelled by said force yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative

the United States, empowered to negotiate a treaty of annexation. They were followed on the next steamer by representatives of the queen, who wrote letters of protest and appeal both to President Harrison and to President-elect Cleveland. On February 1, in response to a request of the Provisional Government, United States Minister Stevens proclaimed a protectorate over the islands pending the settlement of negotiations at Washington.

On February 15 President Harrison transmitted to the Senate a treaty of annexation, accompanied by a message, in which he said: —

“The overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this government, but had its origin in what seems to have been a reactionary and revolutionary policy on the part of Queen Liliuokalani, which put in serious peril not only the large and preponderating interests of the United States in the islands, but all foreign interests, and indeed the decent administration of civil affairs and the peace of the islands.”

and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A.D. 1893.

(Signed)	LILIUOKALANI, R.
(Signed)	SAMUEL PARKER, <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs.</i>
(Signed)	WM. H. CORNWELL, <i>Minister of Finance.</i>
(Signed)	JNO. F. COLBURN, <i>Minister of the Interior.</i>
(Signed)	A. P. PETERSON, <i>Attorney General.</i>

Commis-
sioner
Blount

The treaty not having been ratified by the Senate at the expiration of President Harrison's term of office, it was withdrawn for reëxamination by his successor at the beginning of his administration. On March 11 President Cleveland appointed the Hon. James H. Blount "his special commissioner" to visit the islands and report to him "concerning the present status of affairs in that country." Mr. Blount reached Honolulu March 29, and remained at the islands until August. On April 1 he terminated the protectorate, hauled down the United States flag from the Government Building, and ordered the troops removed aboard ship.

Acting upon his report, the papers with which it was accompanied, and the recommendation of Secretary Gresham, President Cleveland on December 18 addressed a message to Congress in which he laid down the following propositions:—

"The lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword, or the firing of a shot, by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States, acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives.

"But for the notorious predilections of the United States Minister for annexation, the Committee of Safety, which should be called the Committee of Annexation, would never have existed.

"But for the landing of the United States forces upon false pretexts respecting the danger to life and property the committee would never have exposed themselves to the pains and penalties of treason by undertaking the subversion of the Queen's Government.

"But for the presence of the United States forces in the immediate vicinity and in position to afford all needed protection and support, the committee would not have proclaimed the provisional government from the steps of the Government building.

"And finally, but for the lawless occupation of Honolulu under false pretexts by the United States forces, and but for Minister Stevens's recognition of the provisional government when the United States forces were its sole support and constituted its only military strength, the Queen and her Government would never have yielded to the provisional government, even for a time and for the sole purpose of submitting her case to the enlightened justice of the United States."

In accordance with these convictions the President declined to submit again to the Senate the treaty of annexation. He also informed the Provisional Government in Honolulu of his desire and expectation that it would forthwith restore to the queen the sovereignty of which she had been treasonably and forcibly deprived, while at the same time insisting with her upon "a general amnesty to those concerned in setting up the Provisional Government, and a recognition of all its *bona fide* acts and obligations."¹ Neither of these propositions met with a favorable response. The queen, however, finally yielded to the conditions imposed upon her, but the Provisional Government replied through Mr. Dole² that it denied "specifically and emphatically" the principal allegations of fact on which President

¹ In Blount, p. 16.

² Ex. Doc. 70, incorporated in the Blount Report, pp. 40, 42.

Cleveland's action was based; that the downfall of the queen was nowise caused by the interference of American forces; that the revolution was inevitable, and would have occurred if no such forces had been on the ground; and that it was carried through by the representatives of the "same public sentiment which forced the monarchy to its knees in 1887, which suppressed the insurrection of 1889," and which for a score of years had been struggling to secure a responsible and representative government for the islands. It therefore "respectfully and unhesitatingly decline[d] to entertain the proposition of the President of the United States, that it should surrender its authority to the ex-Queen." Mr. Cleveland, being without power to enforce his suggestion, reported the whole matter to Congress, and on May 31, 1894, the "Turpie Resolution" passed the Senate, declaring "that of right it belongs wholly to the people of the Hawaiian Islands to establish and maintain their own form of government policy; that the United States should in no wise interfere therewith and that any interference in the political affairs of the islands by any other government will be regarded as an act unfriendly to the United States."¹

"Turpie
Resolu-
tion"

¹ What is very curious is the attitude assumed by Presidents Harrison and McKinley, on the one hand, and President Cleveland, on the other, and of the two political parties represented by them. The Republicans are responsible for the enfranchisement of the negro in the United States; they have always strenuously insisted on the principle of "one man, one

On May 30 a constitutional convention — composed of the President, Cabinet, and Advisory Council of the Provisional Government, and of eighteen elected members from the several islands, and embracing in its membership persons of American, English, Scotch, German, Portuguese, Hawaiian, and mixed blood — convened in Honolulu, and on July 3 completed, and on the following day proclaimed, a constitution for the Republic of Hawaii.¹ Of this Constitution the nota-

Fifth
Constitution,
1894, — the
Republic

vote"; they have sought to secure the passage of so-called "force bills," pledging the power of the Federal government to the defence of manhood suffrage at the South without distinction of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." A very large, if not a major, part of the Democratic party, on the contrary, has favored the domination in the United States of the white race, by means fair or foul. In three Southern states the negro has been practically disfranchised by constitutional amendment, and almost everywhere else by intimidation or otherwise. Yet as concerns Hawaii, this attitude has in both cases been reversed. What the Democrat seems to regard with equanimity in New Orleans, rouses indignation in him when practised in Honolulu; and what the Republican denounces as an outrage and an atrocity in South Carolina, he condones or approves in Oahu. Yet neither the one nor the other seems to be disturbed or instructed by these contradictions. If the Southern Democrat could learn from his sympathy with the remote *kanaka* to treat his black compatriot and neighbor more justly, and if the Northern Republican could learn from Hawaiian history how multifarious and almost insuperable are the difficulties which beset a white minority in the midst of a colored population having ostensible equality of political rights with themselves, two of the lessons which Americans most need to learn would have been taught.

¹ This Constitution is composed of 103 Articles. Of these, the first thirteen guarantee certain "Rights of Person and Property"; Arts. 14-2 define the Republic, its form and name, its territory, ensign, citizenship, and division of powers; Arts. 21-37 describe the Executive Power, the President and the Cabinet; Arts. 38-80 are devoted to the Legislative Power, the Senate, and the House of Representatives; Art. 81 constitutes

ble features are:—1. The election of the President by the legislature, as in the French Republic; 2. the admittance of aliens to a qualified citizenship by

and defines the Council of State; Arts. 82–90 describe the Judicial Power; and the remaining Articles contain Miscellaneous Provisions. As to citizenship, the Constitution provides that all persons born or naturalized in the islands shall be citizens, and that such other residents as assisted in the formation and support of the Provisional Government may become such without renouncing their allegiance to other powers. For the naturalization of aliens it provides the following conditions: a residence of two years; intention to become a permanent citizen; ability to read, write, and speak the English language; an intelligent understanding of the Constitution; subjection to a government having express treaty stipulations with the Republic concerning naturalization; good moral character; lawful occupation or means of support, and clear property amounting to \$200. Provision is also made for letters of denization. The President must be a citizen of the Republic, not less than thirty-five years of age, and resident there for not less than fifteen years. He is elected, not by the people, but by a majority vote of the Senate and House of Representatives, sitting together (including a majority of all the Senators), for the term of six years, and is ineligible to reëlection for the next succeeding term. Cabinet officers are made *ex-officio* members of both Houses of the Legislature, but without a vote. The Senate includes fifteen members, holding office for six years, who must be male citizens, not less than thirty years of age, able to use the English or Hawaiian language, resident for not less than three years, and possessed of property of the net value of not less than \$3000, or a money income of not less than \$1200. The House of Representatives includes fifteen members, elected by the cumulative method of voting every second year; their qualifications are like those of Senators, except that they must be not less than twenty-five years of age and hold property to the value of not less than \$1000, or have an income of not less than \$600. The sessions of the Legislature are to be held biennially. No important or peculiar qualification for the franchise is demanded, in the election of Representatives, except ability “understandingly to speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language.” Voters for Senators must also own real property in the Republic of the net value of \$1500, or personal property amounting to \$3000, or

means of letters of denization,—a questionable feature; 3. the ownership of property as a condition of naturalization; 4. the requirement at several points

have a money income of not less than \$600. The Council of State is composed of fifteen members, five elected by the Senate, five by the House of Representatives, and five appointed by the President with the approval of the Cabinet, for a term of office coextensive with that of the Legislature. It has power to appropriate public moneys, upon the request of the Executive Council, in case of emergency, during the interval between the sessions of the Legislature, to act with the Executive Council as a Board of Pardons, and to advise the President, when called upon by him to do so, in all matters of state. The Judicial Power is vested in a Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish, the justices of the Supreme Court holding their office during life, subject to impeachment, or to removal by a two-thirds vote of all the elective members of the Legislature sitting together. The Constitution also provides that all statutes, contracts, treaties, etc., in force at the time of its promulgation shall be deemed valid, unless inconsistent with its provisions, that the Crown Lands are the property of the government, that no public aid shall be extended to any sectarian or private school, and that no lotteries or sale of lottery tickets shall be allowed within the Republic.

It is interesting to learn how this Constitution was made. In a conversation with Kate Field, President Dole is reported to have said: "Mr. Thurston, in Washington, and I, in Honolulu, unknown to each other, began to work on a constitution. I devoted almost all my time to it, stayed at home, had the books I wanted, and worked deliberately. When Mr. Thurston returned, he and I read our drafts over together, made changes, and fused the two, taking such parts from both as we thought best. Then we had this draft printed, and we called together the Cabinet and a number of gentlemen who represented almost every kind of work in the islands, about sixteen in all, including ourselves. We went over this draft section by section, paragraph by paragraph, word for word, and voted on every part. I think that body spent several weeks on it, meeting every day, and got through just in time for the convention. The convention went over it in the same way, section by section; so it had, you see, about four complete drafts."

of the English or Hawaiian language, bearing chiefly against Asiatics; 5. a property qualification for membership in either branch of the legislature, and for the franchise in the election of Senators; 6. membership of the Cabinet in both Houses of the legislature; 7. the system of cumulative voting for Representatives; and 8. the Council of State. The Constitution shows familiarity with the best political speculation and precedents, and is a skilful blending of liberal and conservative elements, admirably adapted to the situation.

It was not submitted to popular vote; it was proclaimed like its predecessors; but the oath made by the people to support it was construed as a quasi-ratification.¹ In due season the Republic was "recognized" by the various governments of America and Europe.

It would appear that the long and often bitter struggle in Hawaii between feudal and free constitutional ideas and government was now ended by the triumph of the latter. But ended it was not yet. During the latter part of 1894, and the first days of 1895, a scheme was devised and attempted for overthrowing the Republic, proclaiming a new consti-

Rebellion
of 1895

¹ "The registered voters in 1890, under the monarchy, numbered 13,593 persons; the registered voters in 1894, under the Provisional Government, for delegates to the so-called Constitutional Convention, numbered 4477; the actual voters in 1896, under the so-called Republic, numbered, for Senators, 2017, and for Representatives 3196." (Ex-queen Liliuokalani, in "Hawaii's Story," p. 363.)

tution,¹ and restoring the ex-queen to the throne. In this scheme were implicated a considerable number of natives, incited and guided by foreigners and half-breeds, the ex-queen herself being privy to the affair. Arms were imported from San Francisco and secreted. A few skirmishes, however, resulted in the defeat and capture of the conspirators. The participants in the rebellion, to the number of 190 and including the ex-queen, were tried by a military commission, 37 on the charge of "treason and open rebellion," 141 on the charge of "treason," and 12 on the charge of "misprision of treason." Of the whole number only 5 were acquitted, 90 pleading guilty. Three others, foreigners, were summarily deported. Twenty-two more were permitted to leave the country, and 37 "suspects" were released, all these without trial. The sentence of death was passed upon several, but a generous exercise of executive clemency saved them from that fate. The ex-queen before her trial, of her own motion and on consultation with her friends, addressed to President Dole a statement declaring that "the Government of the Republic of Hawaii is the lawful Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and that the late Hawaiian Monarchy is finally and forever ended and no longer of any legal or acute validity, force or effect what-

¹ This Constitution is said to have been written by C. T. Gulick, concerning whom, see p. 130, foot-note.

ever," and presenting her own duly certified oath of allegiance to the existing government. The effect of the rebellion and its issue was to strengthen the Republic in the general regard, and purge the population, at least temporarily, of some of its most troublesome and conscienceless elements.

Annexation
sentiment

Meantime, the sentiment in favor of the annexation of Hawaii to the United States was being sedulously and very skilfully nurtured in both countries.¹ On March 21, 1843, the Annexation Club was founded in Honolulu, with branches throughout the islands. On September 30 it reported a membership of 6596, being about sixty-three per cent of the whole number of votes cast at the general election next preceding, and apportioned as follows: Americans, 1449; Hawaiians, 1671; Portuguese, 2386; others, 1090. The accusation was freely made and probably not without some justification, that many plantation laborers and native officials were influenced rather by persuasion and threats than by annexationist sympathies in joining this club. Early in the following year it was changed into the American Union Party. The arguments which were urged on both sides in the United

¹ It does not seem needful to rehearse here the various agitations and movements for annexation, of earlier dates, or the diplomatic history of the islands in general. An account of these may be found in Wharton, in the documents accompanying the Blount Report, in the histories of Alexander and Carpenter, and in "Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society," No. 9.

States may be summarized as follows: In favor of annexation it was said:—

Arguments
for annex-
tion

1. That Hawaii is the "child" of America, her whole civilization being derived thence, and her best people being bound to those of the United States by multifarious vital ties; this may be called the *sentimental* argument.

2. It was urged that it has been the unwavering policy of America through half a century to prevent the absorption or domination of Hawaii by any other power, and that there have been frequent official attempts to bring her into the Union—three several treaties to that end having been partially negotiated prior to the one which proved successful; this may be called the *historical* argument.

3. The strategic position of the islands was dwelt upon, their possession as a coal base by the United States imposing on any other power the necessity of steaming between seven thousand and eight thousand miles, back and forth, in assaulting her western coast, while giving her decisive advantages throughout the North Pacific and in Asia. This is the argument *geographical* and *military*.

4. It was urged that the Hawaiian foreign trade, already over \$208 *per capita* and certain to be immense when the population shall be tenfolded, would thus be assured to the United States; this is the *commercial* argument.

5. It was contended that annexation would remove from international politics a vexed and threatening subject,—Russia, Great Britain, and France having already at various times raised their flags over the group, and Japan being supposed to look upon them with covetous eye ; this is the argument *political*. These several reasonings, especially the third and the last, gained greatly in cogency as the Cuban war came on, and its certain and contingent issues were foreshadowed in the public mind.

Against annexation it was urged :—

Arguments
against an-
nexation

1. That such an act would be antagonistic, or at least uncongenial, to the spirit and history of American institutions ; that it would be the first step in a new and perilous policy of “imperialism” ; and that it would be a virtual abandonment, or at any rate a serious impairment of the Monroe doctrine.

2. That it would involve the United States in international complications, and especially in the inevitable and impending struggle of European powers in the Far East.

3. That for such enterprises the civil service of the United States is wholly unfit, in traditions, training, literature, and personnel, and that it would be further and hopelessly corrupted by them.

4. That the islands are so remote that their possession would be a source of weakness rather than of strength in time of war.

5. That annexation would necessitate a considerable increase of the army and navy, and large expenditures for fortifications and armaments.

6. That the population of the islands, being largely of inferior or of Asiatic stock, would add still further elements of discord and debility to a nation already too heterogeneous.

7. That the Hawaiian Republic was a republic only in name, being in fact an oligarchy of foreigners and adventurers, who had forcibly and feloniously, and with the help of American arms, wrested the sovereignty from the hands of the natives, and that annexation would therefore be immoral.

8. That it was urged in the interest of sugar planters and speculators, who had already profited to the extent of sixty or seventy millions of dollars by the remission of customs duties since the reciprocity treaty was made, and that it would imperil the American beet-sugar industry.

9. That it would incorporate a leper colony in the body politic.

10. And, finally, that a protectorate would secure all the substantial advantages, and escape all the serious disadvantages, which might be anticipated from annexation.

Perhaps it may be said that the friends of annexation had the best of the argument, so far as it concerned matters military and strategic, but were

outmatched by their opponents in the political and social field. And at any rate the sudden and profound change of temper in international and "colonial" affairs, which the war with Spain wrought in the American people, was decisive of the question.

Treaty of
annexation

On June 16, 1897, a treaty¹ was transmitted to the Senate, ceding all rights of sovereignty in the islands to the United States, and providing for their annexation as the Territory of Hawaii. It stipulated that the existing laws of the United States, relative to public lands, should not apply in the new territory; that revenues from these should be used exclusively for the benefit of the inhabitants; that the President should provide temporarily for the government of the islands, their existing municipal legislation remaining meantime in force; that the United States should assume the Hawaiian public debt, not to exceed four millions of dollars; that Chinese immigration should be discontinued; and that five commissioners should be appointed, who should recommend to Congress such legislation concerning the territory as they should deem necessary and proper.

The following day ex-queen Liliuokalani filed in the office of the Secretary of State a protest against the proposed action, which ran in part as follows:—

¹ Signed by John Sherman, Francis March Hatch, Lorrin A. Thurston, and William A. Kinney.

"I declare such treaty to be an act of wrong toward the native and part-native population of Hawaii, an invasion of the rights of the ruling chiefs, in violation of international rights both toward my people and toward friendly nations with whom they have made treaties, the perpetuation of the fraud whereby the constitutional government was overthrown and, finally, an act of gross injustice to me. . . . Because my people, about 40,000 in number, have in no way been consulted by those, 3000 in number, who claim the right to destroy the independence of Hawaii. . . . Said treaty ignores not only the civic rights of my people, but, further, the hereditary property of their chiefs. . . . It is proposed by said treaty to confiscate said property, technically called the crown lands [above 900,000 acres], those legally entitled thereto either now or in succession receiving no consideration whatever for estates, their title to which has been always undisputed, and which is legally in my name at this date."

This treaty not being ratified, a joint resolution providing for annexation was approved July 7, 1898, and the American flag—the same one which Commissioner Blount had hauled down in 1893—was raised again at Honolulu, at noon, August 12, 1898. The "Newlands Resolution" directed the President to appoint five Commissioners as aforesaid, at least two of whom should be residents of the islands.¹ The bill reported by these Commissioners shows everywhere the influence of the admirable Constitution in force. Its principal recommendations are as follows: that the islands be erected into a territory of the United States which shall be styled "the Territory

"Newlands
Joint Res-
olution"

¹ The Commission consisted of the Hons. S. M. Cullom, J. F. Morgan, R. R. Hitt, S. B. Dole, and W. F. Frear.

of Hawaii"; that all white persons, including Portuguese, all persons of African descent, and all natives and part-natives who were citizens of the Republic immediately prior to annexation, be declared citizens of the United States; that a legislature be organized in two houses, a Senate and a House of Representatives; that a moderate property or income qualification be imposed on Senators, Representatives, and voters for Senators, and an educational qualification on all voters; that a cumulative system of voting be continued; that a governor, secretary of the territory, United States district judge, district attorney, and marshal be appointed by the President; that the legislature have power to create town, city, and county municipalities;¹ that the system of "mixed juries" be abolished;² that a delegate to the United States House of Representatives be elected by the qualified voters for territorial Representatives; that officers of the territory be appointed by the governor as follows:

¹ Neither Honolulu nor any other Hawaiian town has ever had a separate existence or a municipal government.

² "Aboriginal Hawaiians and those of mixed Hawaiian and foreign blood are entitled in criminal cases to be tried by a jury of Hawaiians. In civil cases where one party or the other is Hawaiian and the other a foreigner, a "mixed" jury is drawn. Asiatics are tried by a foreign jury, composed of foreign residents, Americans, Germans, British as they happen to be, also Hawaiian born of foreign blood. Unanimity in verdicts has never been required. Nine of the twelve jurors who hear the case can render a verdict. Forty-five years' experience has not led the community to doubt the advisability of this principle and we should part with it with regret." (Chief Justice A. F. Judd, in "Annual" for 1898, p. 97.)

an attorney general, a treasurer, a superintendent of public works, a superintendent of public instruction, an auditor and a deputy auditor, a surveyor, and a chief sheriff—as also the judges of the several courts, and the members of various public boards; that the laws of the United States prohibiting contract labor be extended to Hawaii; and that the Secretary of Agriculture be authorized to make a special investigation of all matters pertaining to public lands, public roads, etc., “bearing upon the prosperity of the territory.” To this report the Commission added a declaration that it ought not to be “accepted as an index or precedent to be followed in the plan of government for Porto Rico and the Philippines,” whose inhabitants—unlike those of Hawaii—are not “familiar with our system of government, or with any other based on the principles of liberty.”¹

With the adoption of this bill by Congress the constitutional evolution of Hawaii will be complete,—unless, indeed, the territory be erected finally into a sovereign state of the American Union. The process has been one of singular interest and instructiveness; and its issue, whether desirable or not, has long been foreseen as inevitable by discerning minds.

The materials for tracing the development of law in the islands are to be found:—1. in the “Blue Book” of 1842; 2. the “Statute Laws,” etc., of 1846; 3. the

Growth of
Law

¹ Report, p. 18.

Civil Code of 1859; 4. the Penal Code of 1869; 5. the Compiled Laws of 1884; 6. the Acts of the Provisional Government, 1893; 7. the Constitution and Laws of the Republic, 1894; 8. the Civil Laws (compiled), 1897; 9. the Penal Laws (compiled), 1897; and 10. the ten volumes of Hawaiian Reports (Supreme Court), 1847-1897.

By the Judiciary Act of 1892, the Common Law of England, whose "conclusions, doctrines, principles, definitions, and applications" John Ricord, almost half a century before, had sought to incorporate, so far as was then practicable, into the statute laws of Kamehameha III., was made the Common Law of the Hawaiian Islands. "Equity jurisprudence was definitely established for the first time in 1876, since which time its limits have been steadily defined and established, until the equity jurisprudence of Hawaii has reached practically the same form with American and English equity."¹ As was inevitable, the successive volumes of Hawaiian statutes contain much contradictory and confusing matter. In 1890 Attorney General Ashford complained, in his annual report, that —

"many provisions, especially of the Penal Code, are so antiquated as to be entirely out of harmony with the spirit of the present age, while much of the Civil Code is founded upon principles and facts that

¹ Attorney General A. S. Hartwell, in "Hawaiian Gazette," February 21, 1899.

have been swept out of existence by our present Constitution. Both codes are so completely overlaid with extending, amending, and repealing Acts, that great uncertainty as to the present state of the law must be the lot of the layman who consults these volumes, while perplexity upon the same subject exists, and must continue, even in the minds of courts and lawyers, until the present tangle is unravelled. The publication issued in 1884, under the name of *Compiled Laws* was, at that time, so inadequate in scope and execution as to fall far short of meeting the public needs. Since then the laws passed at four Sessions of the Legislature have contributed still further to the urgency of the situation, which should now be dealt with in a systematic manner and liberal spirit."

Two years later, in his Report to the Legislature (pp. 103, 104), Attorney General Whiting concurred in this complaint and recommendation of his predecessor, and suggested the appointment of a Commission to codify the laws already in force and recommend such new legislation as might seem desirable. Since that time, under the Provisional Government, the Republic, and as a Territory of the United States—whose status, owing to the failure of Congress to take action, is in important respects uncertain—changes have befallen the islands with bewildering rapidity; and the time has not yet come when the laws can be accurately adjusted to these new conditions.

The various volumes of "Session Laws," and in particular the "Reports" of the Supreme Court, contain many interesting contributions to the social history of the islands. Thus, Mr. Justice McCully, on examining the records of the sixteen crown cases

which had been appealed to the Supreme Court prior to 1888 ("Friend," January and February, 1888), found that nine of the defendants were Chinese, five Hawaiians, one American, and one Norwegian. Of the causes, one concerned a lottery, one perjury, and three the sale of opium. Several cases involved water-rights, *taro* and rice culture — the old Hawaiian and the new Chinese industries — being in collision. Other cases concerned the right of way, growing out of the evolution of ancient footpaths into roads and streets; others, boundary lines antedating the practice of surveying by instruments. There were numerous "bills in equity for the cancellation of deeds on the ground that aged and ignorant Hawaiians had been deceived in executing" these instruments. There were cases involving confusion from the loose methods of employing proper names habitual to the natives — as when one Naihe gained the sobriquet Kikipine or "Six Pins," from being employed in a bowling alley. There were leprosy cases, mostly turning on the question whether the segregation laws were constitutional. And there were cases involving the right to fish out to "chin deep," and of tenants in the waters of landlords.

Character
of judiciary

It should be added that Hawaii furnishes a striking illustration of the social value of a competent and conscientious judiciary. That her institutions have developed so steadily, amid circumstances of contin-

uous change and confusion, when foreign processes and precedents were being adopted; amid the constant clamor of racial, partisan, private, and corporate interests; and hindered often by serious legislative incapacity and corruption, appears to be due in considerable measure to the ability, the candor, the catholicity, the uprightness, the steadiness, the dignity, and the courage which have in general characterized those who have sat upon her Supreme Bench. That the monarchy survived so long as it did, and that the rights of the native population were so far safeguarded, is to be ascribed in large part to this cause.¹ The Hon. Francis Wayland, Dean of the Yale Law School, reports² a trial which he witnessed at Honolulu in the year 1885, and which he evidently regarded as characteristic. The accused was charged with manslaughter in the first degree. The jury was —

“selected and impanelled in precisely thirty-five minutes. . . . In less than three hours from the swearing of the first witness, the case for the government was concluded, and this with due deliberation. . . . The defence was prolonged to a period slightly exceeding four

¹ Cf. the remarks recently made by Chief Justice Judd, at the dinner given in recognition of the quarter-centennial of his elevation to the Supreme Bench:—“It seems to me that we ought to set a shining example to all men of the way in which a brown race can be treated by the white, treated justly and generously.” (“Hawaiian Gazette,” February 21, 1899.)

² Paper read at the annual meeting of the National Prison Association, Detroit, October 19, 1885.

hours. . . . The jury were addressed by the counsel for the prisoner and for the state in arguments of marked ability, consuming, taken together, considerably less than three hours. . . . Half an hour sufficed for the charge of the judge. Two hours later, the jury returned to the court-room and stated through their foreman that they had agreed upon a verdict. . . . From the commencement to the conclusion of the trial, the entire time occupied had been fourteen hours. . . . During and subsequent to the trial, the newspapers confined themselves to a literal transcript of the proceedings. . . . No flowers from fair hands solaced the sufferings of the prisoner. . . . As between themselves, [the counsel] maintained throughout the manners of gentlemen. . . . From first to last, no witness was bullied or badgered or cajoled or teased or ridiculed. . . . Under the laws of the land, [the verdict] was accepted, recorded, and followed by the sentence of the accused, although it represented only nine out of the twelve jurymen; in other words, there were three dissenting jurors."

LAND TENURE

The evolution of land tenures in the Hawaiian Islands is a subject of much difficulty, and it cannot be fully traced in this volume. It has perhaps passed through seven stages, though the first two of these are prehistoric and only conjectural.¹ They are:—

1. *Patriarchal*.
2. *Tribal* or *Communal*;—as among the Maoris and Samoans.
3. *Feudal*; occupants being tenants-at-will of the

¹ See Alexander, in "Annual" for 1891; Dole, in "Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society," No. 3; and Hawaiian Reports, ii. and vi. (Judges Robertson, Allen, and Judd).

chiefs, and lands being liable to redistribution on the death either of chief or tenant.¹

4. *Hereditary*; the principle of reversion of lands to the king at the death of the tenant being replaced by that of succession in his family, though without ownership—a principle affirmed by Kamehameha I., unsuccessfully opposed by Kamehameha II., and reaffirmed by the chiefs after his death at the suggestion of the regent Kalaimoku and of Lord Byron. Occupancy became thus more secure, the sense of rights in the soil was engendered, the institution of the family was made more coherent, and land became a commodity, having a market value.

5. *First Allodial*; the principle being announced in the Bill of Rights (1839), but without definition or guarantee.

6. *Second Allodial*; the principle being emphasized in the first Constitution (1840).

¹ "When the islands were conquered by Kamehameha I., he followed the example of his predecessors, and divided out the lands among his principal warrior chiefs, retaining, however, a portion in his hands, to be cultivated or managed by his own immediate servants or attendants. Each principal chief divided his lands anew, and gave them out to an inferior order of chiefs, or persons of rank, by whom they were subdivided again and again; after passing through the hands of four, five or six persons, from the King down to the lowest class of tenants. All these persons were considered to have rights in the lands, or the productions of them. The proportions of these rights were not very clearly defined, but were nevertheless universally acknowledged." ("Principles adopted by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles," in "Statute Laws," ii. 81.)

7. *Third Allodial*; the principle being defined in the Organic Act of 1845, accepted by the king and chiefs in Privy Council, and executed by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles. This Board, which was provided for in 2d Kamehameha III.,¹ and whose task was one of exceptional delicacy and difficulty, secured a *mahele*, or division of lands, in 1848-1850, which brought the immemorial feudal system, weakened by successive assaults and concessions, to an end, and fully established the principle of private allodial property in land.

Great
Mahele

By this *mahele* a portion of the soil was set apart to the king and his successors on the throne as their private property—the “crown lands”; another portion to the government—the “government lands”; another to the chiefs or landlords; and another—the *kuleanas*—to those tenants who had occupied and cultivated them since 1839, the date of the Bill of Rights. Partly on their own motion, but largely through the urgency of the missionaries and others,² the natives in considerable numbers—some eleven thousand in the course of time—put in claims and secured awards to the lands they occupied, in areas averaging from two to four acres.

¹ See “Statute Laws,” i. 107 *et seq.*

² “Many thought it to be a ruse to tempt them to build better houses, fence the lands, plant trees, and make such improvements in cultivation as should enrich the chiefs, who are the hereditary owners of the soil, while to the old tenants no profit would accrue.” (Coan, “Life,” p. 124.)

This free and cheerful surrender of immemorial prerogative by the king and chiefs has often been praised as an event almost unique in history, and a distinct triumph of the moral and the ideal. And so it was; but when we consider that it resulted in the absolute ownership by the king of nearly a million acres, by the chiefs of a million and a half, by the government of an amount about as great as that assigned the chiefs, and by the common people of some twenty-eight thousand acres only, its actual beneficent results do not appear imposing. The intent, however, was good; and it was further shown by the offer of government lands for sale at nominal prices, so that such natives as were excluded from ownership by the terms of the aforesaid division might secure homesteads.¹ The social advantages which were expected to result from the acquisition by the natives of these lands, were very well summed up by the Roman Catholic Bishop Maigrêt, in a letter to the Hon. R. C. Wyllie, dated April 27, 1847:² —

¹ "I have known thousands of acres sold for twenty-five cents, other thousands for twelve and a half cents, and still others for six and a quarter cents an acre. These lands were, of course, at considerable distances from towns and harbors. But even rich lands near Hilo and other ports sold at one, two, or three dollars per acre. . . . Those who accepted or bought land now [1881] find its value increased ten, and, in some cases, a hundred fold." (Coan, "Life," pp. 124, 125.)

In a letter to the author, Professor Alexander says that "at least 300,000 acres were disposed of in this way."

² "Answers to Questions," pp. 56, 57.

"The natives then will have something to eat, and wherewith to clothe themselves ; they will labor with gladness, because they will be interested in their labor, and the fruit of their labor will be insured to them ; parents, in future, will be able to raise their families ; the multiplication of marriages will be encouraged ; we will no longer see the plurality of adoptive fathers so hurtful to filial love and the correction of children ; the natives will become attached to a spot of ground which they well know belongs to them ; they will then construct habitations more solid, more durable, more spacious, more healthy, and fitted for the preservation of good morals ; we will no longer see so many vagabonds, who live only at the expense of others, and who unceremoniously enter the first house they come to ; the natives will no longer lie down on the wet and muddy ground ; in their houses there will no longer be the disgusting intermixture, whence originate so many diseases and so much corruption ; the people will bless the sovereign who governs them," etc.

By 1860 most of the desirable government land had been sold, chiefly to natives, or set apart for the purposes of education.¹ Gradually, however, the real property of the islands came under the control of wealthy individuals and corporations, and for the most part in large areas. The "crown lands" were leased to planters and ranchers, and the government was administered in their interest rather than in the interest of a peasant proprietorship. Of "government lands," grants (sales) were made to five individuals, aggregating 353,714 acres. The common people were careless of their rights and interests, and

¹ In 1850 one-twentieth part of all public lands was devoted for the support of schools ; part of this has been sold, part is leased, and part is used as sites for school buildings.

easily parted with their holdings. The chiefs fell into habits of extravagance, contracted debts, and mortgaged their estates to the whites, or died without heirs and intestate; and thus their lands were alienated. Already, in 1862, I find it reported¹ that about three-quarters of all the real property on Oahu, except in the district of Waialua, was under the control of the "foreign element," and in Waialua about one-half. According to the census of 1896, there were 6327 landowners in the islands, .058 per cent of the population; and of these 3995 were of pure Hawaiian blood, being .128 per cent of all Hawaiians. Of the natives, 51.94 per cent owned the homes in which they dwelt. The acreage on which taxes were paid, however, is distributed as follows:²—

Europeans and Americans	1,052,492
Natives	257,457
Half-castes	531,545
Chinese	12,324
Japanese	200
Portuguese and others	None

Thus, the full-blood Hawaiians own in severalty only .06 of the soil of the islands. Within three generations they have alienated substantially the whole of their domain, or—if one choose to put it so—have been dispossessed by those whom they have welcomed to their ancestral home. Since 1884 several

¹ "Missionary Herald," lvii. 374.

² In Blount, p. 77.

efforts have been made to promote small holdings. Ex-President Dole is a strenuous advocate of this policy;¹ and at its first session the legislature of the Republic passed an admirable land act (1895), which provides, among other matters, for homestead leases, covering from eight to forty-five acres according to quality of land, and running for 999 years, without purchase price or rent, and conditioned only on continuous occupation as homes, payment of taxes, and a certain degree of improvement; and also for right of purchase leases of from one hundred to four hundred acres, and cash freeholds, under liberal conditions.

Under this law land has been taken up as follows:²—

TABLE

LAND DISTRICT	RIGHT OF PURCHASE LEASES			CASH FREEHOLDS			SPECIAL AGREEMENTS			HOME- STEADS	
	No. of Hold- ings	Acres	Value	No. of Hold- ings	Acres	Value	No. of Hold- ings	Acres	Value	No. of Hold- ings	Acres
First (Hilo & Puna Hawaii) . . .	183	8588.11	\$66060.58	14	564	\$3493.00	44	3013.00	\$22388.80		
Second (Hama- kua & Kō- hala) . . .	86	3286.25	26785.30	4	144	360.00	19	1279.00	10691.00	9	47.00
Third (Kona & Kau) . . .	12	467.54	1948.64	1	8	95.00	5	280.10	4110.25	33	545.64
Fourth (Maui, Molokai & Lanai) . . .	48	4111.43	10860.27				19	1776.96	9375.00	34	612.17
Fifth (Oahu) . .										10	26.00
Totals . .	329	16453.33	\$105654.79	19	716	\$3948.00	87	6349.06	\$46565.05	86	1230.81

¹ See summary of article read before the Social Science Association, in the "Friend," for September, 1891.

² These figures are corrected to January 1, 1899. I owe them to the courtesy of the Hon. S. B. Dole and J. F. Brown, Agent of Public Lands.

SUMMARY OF ABOVE

	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS	ACRES	VALUE
Right of Purchase Leases	329	16,453.33	\$105,654.79
Cash Freeholds	19	716.00	3,948.00
Special Agreements	87	6,349.06	46,565.05
Homesteads	86	1,230.81	.....
Totals	521	24,749.20	\$156,167.84

It thus appears that the homestead lease, which was specially designed to secure holdings to native families, has not been extensively availed of. The *kanaka* prefers life in town; he is not likely to recover any considerable portion of the patrimony which he has alienated.

The following table shows the nationality of applicants for land and the respective areas taken up:—

NATIONALITY	HOLDINGS	ACRES
American	103	7,445.86
Portuguese	130	4,092.13
Hawaiian ¹	223	8,382.25
British	21	1,359.20
Russian	10	844.00
German	17	835.31
Norwegian	11	586.00
Japanese	3	185.45
French	2	189.00
Italian	1	20.00
Total	521	24,749.20

In addition to the foregoing, land has been purchased by persons of unknown nationality, who were the holders of a certain class of old crown leases, the further issuing of which was discontinued from the date of the Land Act; these Olaa lands amount to 8683 acres, valued at \$37,312.

¹ Under the head of "Hawaiian" are included Hawaiian born of foreign parents; these, however, are few as compared with native Hawaiians.

Of the domains formerly pertaining to the crown and to the government, but treated by the Republic as alike "public lands," and as such turned over to the United States, there are about a million and three-quarters acres, valued at five and a half million dollars. The leases under which this land is held expire from time to time,—all of them by 1921; it will thus be possible gradually to break up the large holdings into homesteads and distribute them widely among an agricultural population. Probably this ought to be done, unless, at any rate, the planters in the meantime adopt of their own motion some method of coöperative production which would secure a like social result.¹

¹ "The land system of the Republic of Hawaii, which encourages the settlement of individuals on small farms, has been very successful. The number of small landholders is constantly increasing, thus adding materially to the taxable value of the real estate affected, and developing a prosperous and conservative class of citizens. The continuation of this policy under annexation is vital to a successful settlement of the public land by a class which by its industry and its interest in public affairs shall favorably affect the future politics of the country. . . . Speculators are dissatisfied with the Hawaiian land system, which intentionally excludes them from all participation in its benefits, and are looking hopefully to Washington for legislation that shall open the public lands to their manipulation, and are discussing means to promote such legislation." (Hon. S. B. Dole, in "Harper's Weekly," February 11, 1899.)

The American Secretary of Agriculture is charged in the bill reported to Congress by the Hawaiian Commission, with the duty of investigating the land question in the islands.

EDUCATION

Education, in the academic sense of the word, began with the arrival of the first American missionaries, in 1820. These were instructed by the Board which sent them out "to aim at nothing short of covering the Sandwich Islands with fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings, and schools and churches, and of raising the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization." Among their number were two professional teachers, but the entire band, and those who came after, were educators by imperative decree of their New England traditions and training. They began to teach the people forthwith — as many as one hundred and fifty district schools being sometimes connected with a single missionary station — and continued in the discharge of this function until 1843, when it was transferred in large part to the government. The pupils in the first schools were exclusively adults, and to a considerable extent of high rank. "If the *palapala* [letters] is good, we wish to possess it first ourselves; if it is bad, we do not intend our subjects to know the evil of it;"¹ so sagely reasoned the chiefs. Among the early pupils of the Rev. Asa Thurston were the king, his two wives, his brother and successor, John Ii, — afterward of such distinguished service in assisting to establish a constitutional form of

¹ Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

government, and as a judge of the Supreme Court, — and about a score of chiefs, of both sexes. The instruction was at first in English, and was mediated in part through assistants conversant with both tongues. As soon as possible, however, the native language was reduced to writing, and put to use in the schools.

Printing

Early in 1822 a spelling-book was printed in Hawaiian, the king himself "pulling" the first sheet January 7. Within eight years thereafter, twenty-two books were issued, amounting to more than ten and a quarter millions of pages, besides a third as many more which were printed in the United States, in the Hawaiian tongue.¹ The pupils were very apt to learn.² Persuaded of the real value of education, or at any rate delighted with this novel and piquant experience, many of the chiefs opened and maintained schools for their subjects, of all ages. Teachers were sent to the several districts, in the various islands, where they were provided by the people, at command of the chiefs, with huts, food, clothing.³ Hoapili, governor of Maui in 1835, "required all children above four years of age to attend school, and ordered that

¹ "Missionary Herald," xxviii. 6.

² "It is astonishing how many have learned to read with so few books. They teach each other, making use of banana leaves, smooth stones, and the wet sand on the sea beach, as tablets." "Their power of memory is wonderful, acquired, as I suppose, by the habit of committing and reciting traditions and the genealogies of their kings and priests." (Judd, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.)

³ Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

no man or woman in his jurisdiction should hold any public office, or have a license to marry, who could not read and write.”¹ Such decrees as this, and the irresistible influence of chiefly example—especially that of the regent Kaahumanu—crowded the schools, as many as forty or fifty thousand pupils being for some time in more or less regular attendance. These schools, “taught” by natives who themselves had the scantiest learning, and sometimes occupying only an hour or two toward evening,² were under the general supervision of the missionaries. What these sought to do by means of them, they themselves explained, in 1835:—“Mental Culture has not been in the common schools, especially of adults, our most prominent object. . . . But the general object has been to supply, in some measure, the want of family government, of home training, and of a well-regulated civil government: to restrain from vice and crime, and to supply, by a mild and salutary influence, the absence of the dominating social power once derived from a horrid superstition. It has afforded, to a great extent, by the pen, slate, pencil and book, a substitute for the pleasure which the people once derived from games of chance, or from athletic sports in connection with gambling risks. In many cases instruction imparted by dictation, and the exercise of joint recitation, or

¹ The Rev. C. M. Hyde, in “Annual” for 1892, p. 121.

² Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

cantillation, of moral lessons by classes, have proved an admirable substitute for the lewd song and the lascivious dance.”¹ This view is in a high degree discerning; it constitutes a vindication of the wisdom of those who had the matter in charge, all the more convincing when we recall the fact that manual labor was in every case a part of the “curriculum of study.” But the edge of this novelty grew dull, Kaahumanu died, the king cared less for learning than for liquor, royal and chiefly example altered, and these common schools fell to pieces. In 1837 only about two thousand pupils were reported as in attendance.

Better
schools

Meantime, the matter was being gradually shifted to another and more secure basis. Select schools were opened at the various stations, and taught by the missionaries. In 1831 there had been established at Lahainaluna a seminary for the more adequate training of teachers and pastors. At first it was attended solely by adults, most of them married men, and the course of study embraced mathematics through trigonometry and surveying, political economy, philosophy, and the like. Afterward it became, and remains, a boarding school for boys. In 1833 the Oahu Charity School for half-caste children was opened in Honolulu; it grew into the present high school. July 31, 1835, a school was established on Maui for the training of girls in spinning, knitting,

¹ Quoted by Hyde, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

and weaving,—to which arts were afterward added those of washing, ironing, sewing, and the culture of silkworms. In 1836 a high school was opened at Hilo, and three years later a preparatory boarding school. In 1837 eight more “well qualified teachers” were sent out by the American Board. In 1839 Roman Catholic schools were established. In 1840 a boarding school, largely for training in agriculture, was begun, at Waialua, Oahu; and a family school for young chiefs at Honolulu—now the Royal School—which has included among its pupils Kamehameha IV., Queen Emma, Kamehameha V., Lunalilo, Kalakaua, Liliuokalani, and Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop. In 1841 a school for missionaries’ children was inaugurated at Punahou, which afterward became and remains Oahu College. Meanwhile, the common schools had been provided on this wise with more capable teachers, and in 1841 it was reported that there were 357 such schools, having a total enrolment of 18,034 pupils. The press also had been active. In 1834 the first Hawaiian newspapers were established,—the “Lama Hawaii,” and the “Kumu Hawaii.” In 1836 there appeared the first weekly newspaper in English, the “Sandwich Islands Gazette,” vehemently hostile to the missionary influence. For two years only, 1836 and 1837, the “Hawaiian Spectator” was published. It was ably edited, and remains a storehouse of valuable informa-

The press

tion respecting its own and earlier times. In 1839 the first edition of the Hawaiian Bible was issued. "The Polynesian" was established in 1840; and in 1841 it was reported that more than one hundred and ten million pages of reading matter had been printed since the beginning.

Public
schools

It was in the years 1840 and 1841, in connection with the establishment of a constitutional form of government, that the chiefs in council enacted laws providing for the establishment and regulation of schools throughout the kingdom, the erection of school-houses, the selection and support of teachers, and the compulsory attendance of all children. These laws, as signed by the king and premier May 21, 1841, and repealing "the statutes enacted in relation to schools on the 15th of October, 1840," are in part as follows:¹—

"The basis on which the kingdom rests is wisdom and knowledge. Peace and tranquillity cannot well prevail in the land, unless the people are taught in letters, and in that which constitutes prosperity.

"If the children are not taught, ignorance must be perpetual. The children of the chiefs cannot prosper, nor any other children, therefore be it enacted,

"1. Whenever there is any number of parents having fifteen or more children of a suitable age to attend school, if they live near each other, in the same village, or in the same township, it shall be their duty to procure themselves a teacher, which they shall do in the following manner. The tax officer shall give notice by a crier of the time and place at which all the male parents of the township, dis-

¹ "Blue Book," pp. 61-68.

strict or village shall meet, and they shall choose three of their number as a school committee for that place. . . .

"3. When the teacher is obtained, then the general agent, the teacher and the school committee shall agree as to the wages. If the teacher have no land, and they shall agree in the opinion that it is important that he should have some, then the general school agent shall endeavor to secure some which is not occupied, and that land shall be given to the teacher, but not in perpetuity. When he shall cease to act as teacher then the land shall revert to government. But if the land do not afford the teacher a full support, then they shall furnish him with as much more as they shall agree to be necessary. It shall be furnished from the avails of the King's labor days and from the yearly tax, but not the poll tax. . . .

"4. Furthermore, it shall be the duty of the children to be generous to their teacher, and aid him by working on his land, according as they shall agree, or according to their good will.

"5. A further reward to the teachers of schools shall be freedom from all public labor for the chiefs and land agents, and neither they nor their wives shall pay any poll tax while they are acting as teachers of schools. . . .

"6. . . . But no person is by this law considered a teacher unless he have a teacher's certificate from the general school agent.

"8. At all places where the children are in want of a school-house, the tax officer shall notify the people, and they shall build it under the direction of the school committee. . . .

"9. The proper ages for children to go to school shall be considered to be from four years and upwards to fourteen years of age. If any man have a child of a suitable age to go to school, but below eight years of age, and do not constantly send him to school, then that parent shall not be freed from the public labor of the King and the land agent, on the labor days, whatever be the number of his children, neither shall his portion of land be increased, nor shall he be permitted to cut on the mountains such kinds of timber as the King gives to the people. All those kinds of timber are taboo to those parents who send not their children to school. Nor shall

those parents fish on those fishing grounds which the King gives to the people. Those parents have a preference for darkness, therefore let the taboo's of those times of darkness apply to them.

"But if a child be more than eight years of age and do not go to school, then the fault shall not be considered as the parents' only, but the child's also. That child shall go to the public labor of the King and land agents on all labor days. . . .

"11. If a teacher fail of doing his duty, and become negligent or guilty of a crime, then he shall be brought to trial before the school committee and general school agent of the place, and they shall decide respecting him. . . .

"12. The school committee must do these things gratuitously — they will receive no pay, for it is but a small amount of labor which they will perform.

"13. There shall also be annually appointed certain men of intelligence as general school agents, as follows, one for Hawaii, one for Maui, one for Molokai, one for Oahu, one for Kauai, and one superintendent of the whole. They shall be appointed by the legislature at their annual meeting. . . .

"14. . . . They also [the school agents] shall be the Judges of the law in relation to schools. The Supreme Judges are the only persons above them. . . . Their pay shall be as follows; when they are travelling to examine schools, the land agents shall furnish them food and necessities, and they shall be paid twenty-five dollars a year of government property, but not money.

"15. Furthermore, those scholars which attend the Mission Seminary at Lahainaluna shall be freed from the money tax, and all public labor of the chiefs, and all scholars that go to school to learn geography, arithmetic, and other higher branches taught in the higher schools, those scholars shall not go to the public labor of the chiefs and land agents till they become eighteen years of age.

"16. . . . No man born since the commencement of the reign of Liholiho, who does not understand reading, writing, geography and arithmetic shall hold the office of Governor, Judge, Tax officer,

nor land agent, nor hold any office over any other man, nor shall a man who is unable to read and write marry a wife, nor a woman who is unable to read and write marry a husband. But this edict does not apply to those who were born previous to the reign of Liholiho.

"17. If any one suffer a misfortune which is the Cause of his ignorance, if his sight be defective, or if he lives in a solitary place distant from school, or is unfortunate in any other manner, which is the reason of his ignorance, and still his or her mind is made up to marry a wife or husband, then he or she may go to the Governor who shall make inquiry, and when it becomes clear to him that the person's ignorance is not the result of laziness but a real misfortune, it shall then be the duty of the Governor to give him or her a certificate of marriage."

In 1843 a ministerial Department of Public Instruction was constituted and put in charge of the Rev. William Richards. He was followed in this office after his death, in 1847, by the Rev. Richard Armstrong — "a close student and ardent disciple of the late Horace Mann of Massachusetts"¹ — who also became the first president of the Board of Education, when that was established in 1855. Henceforward, the ideals and methods of New England education were completely in the ascendant. In 1853 "Haole" reports² that it was "exceedingly difficult to find a child ten years of age who cannot read his Bible and other school books fluently." "Of the white men's signatures on the public papers of that day one-half

¹ Quoted from his son, the late General S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

were made by marks, while only one native failed to write his own name."¹

In 1865 the Board of Education was organized and the office of Inspector General created, its first incumbent being Judge Abraham Fornander. In 1896 public education was constituted an Executive Department of the government, under the care of a Minister of Public Instruction (the Minister of Foreign Affairs) and six commissioners, two of them ladies, and all serving without compensation.

Present
conditions

The present condition of the public schools may be summarized as follows: the law compels the attendance of all children between the ages of six and fourteen, and it is well enforced, about 82 per cent of all such children being in school, besides a large number who are above and below these age limits; the school year includes 200 days, as against an average of 140.5 in the United States; appropriations to private or sectarian schools are forbidden by the Constitution, and by the law of 1896 no priest or minister of religion can act as Minister of Public Instruction or member of the Board of Education; the whole number of public schools is 132, in only one of which is the Hawaiian language now used.² The

¹ General S. C. Armstrong, in "Journal of Christian Philosophy," for January, 1884, p. 219.

² But though English is now the exclusive language of the schools, it is not, as is generally supposed, in common use among the people. Even "in Honolulu, where the situation is most favorable to [its] development,

number of teachers employed in public schools is 298, every important nationality among the population being represented, except the Japanese, as follows: American 134, Hawaiian 49, part Hawaiian 48, British 42, Portuguese 12, Scandinavian 6, German 2, French 1, Belgian 1, Chinese 1, other foreigners 2; the number of teachers employed in private schools is 209; the number of pupils enrolled is 14,522 (of whom 3954 are in private schools), classified as follows: Hawaiian 5330, part Hawaiian 2479, Portuguese 3815, Chinese 1078, Japanese 560, American 484, German 302, British 280, Scandinavian 106, South Sea Islanders 10, French 2, other foreigners 76; the average monthly salary of all teachers in government employ is \$63.18, as against \$42.26 in the United States; the cost of the public schools *per capita* of population is \$2.06, as against \$2.61 in the United States; a high school and a normal school in Honolulu, a summer school, a national teachers' association, and courses in higher pedagogy conducted by the inspector general, serve to replenish and to improve the force of teachers; and there are kindergartens, a reform

the groups of children playing along the streets use their native tongue. The natives of mature age whom you meet are generally unable to converse with you in English or to understand what is said to them. They learn in the schools the English text-books as an American child would learn the Latin or Greek languages. This done, their capacity to think or speak English seems very slight." (In Blount, p. 24.)

school, a night school, and a considerable, though perhaps as yet insufficient, amount of industrial and manual training.

There are also some sixty private schools, having an enrolment of about four thousand pupils,—the chief among them being Oahu College, the noble Kamehameha schools for natives of both sexes, the St. Louis College, under Roman Catholic auspices, Iolani College, under the care of the Anglican bishop, several boarding schools for native girls, and the Mills Institute for Chinese boys.

Illiteracy

As the result of the educational history thus sketched, the rate of illiteracy in Hawaii is very low, except as concerns the adult Asiatic and Portuguese immigrants. This may be seen in the following table:—

TABLE OF ILLITERACY, BY NATIONALITY

(From Census Report of 1896)

NATIONALITIES	NUMBER OVER SIX YEARS	PER CENT ABLE TO READ AND WRITE
Hawaiians	26,495	83.97
Part Hawaiians	5,895	91.21
Hawaiian-born foreigners	5,394	68.29
Americans	2,060	82.02
British	1,516	95.44
Germans	899	86.31
French	75	92.00
Norwegians	215	80.46
Portuguese	8,089	27.84
Japanese	22,189	53.60
Chinese	19,317	48.47
South Sea Islanders	407	40.05
Other nationalities	423	75.41

This is a very creditable showing indeed; but it would be well to read in connection with it the following statement, made in 1893 by the Rev. C. M. Hyde, D.D., who has been teaching Hawaiian youth since 1877:¹—

“In all my intercourse with young Hawaiians I have met only one whom I would call worthy the name of a student, capable of abstruse thought, the study of principles, the acquisition of scientific or philosophical methods. . . . They have not yet learned the rudimentary principles of government and independent citizenship. Their lawyers cannot grasp the details nor the generalizations that are necessary for the successful advocate or judge. . . . There is no educated physician of native race in practice of his profession at the islands. There is no artisan, nor mechanic, nor trader in business for himself. . . . No matter how many times he may have deceived them, any demagogue who will promise whatever they may foolishly desire at the moment is the one whom they will follow. . . . We cannot trust business interests to the decision of a Hawaiian jury.”

Reference should also be made to the Museum founded in 1889 by the Hon. C. R. Bishop, in memory of his deceased wife, in which “it is hoped to collect not only every article that may illustrate the ethnology of this group, but also every bird, fish, insect, shell, coral, plant, in short all that will show in an accurate and scientific as well as popular way, whatever of life the islands produce.”² Already, in

Bishop
Museum

¹ In Blount, p. 359. Perhaps, as a result of manual training in the schools, some portions of this discouraging statement ought now — 1899 — to be modified.

² Professor W. T. Brigham, Curator, in “Annual” for 1893, p. 89.

1892, the Museum contained above a hundred *kakilis* and fly-brushes, more than thirty-five thousand square feet of *kapas*, many mats, wooden dishes, — including a *poi* bowl nine feet in circumference, — nets, snares, and hooks for fishing, implements of industry, warfare, and sport, idols, mounted birds, photographs, etc.; besides many articles from New Zealand, the Fijian and Micronesian islands, and other parts of Oceania.

Remarks

Finally, it may be suggested respecting education in Hawaii that here as generally, in dealing with primitive or inferior peoples, the New Englander has failed somewhat in plasticity of conception and in adaptation of methods. Dominated by the noble idea that all men are equal before God, he has been impatient of distinctions and discriminations of any sort. If any one asked, "What kind of education is best for the *kanaka* in his *taro*-patch, or for the freed-man in the Southern states?" his reply was apt to be, "What sort of education is best for a *man*? In education, as in Christ, there cannot be Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bondman nor freeman." It is this idea which has led in so many attempts to educate the negro in the South to a comparative neglect of manual and economic training, and of instruction in agriculture, trades, and the domestic arts. There is perhaps no better example of the skilful adaptation of pedagogic method to the particular nature and need

of pupils than that which Hampton Institute affords. Its plan was suggested to General Armstrong by the Hawaiian schools, which for fifteen years had been under the management of his father and in which he himself was trained, and in particular by the differences between two of them as to methods and results, the school at Lahaina having furnished "a warning against a too exclusively mental culture of a soft and pliant race, the one at Hilo an illustration of an equilibrium of mental, moral and industrial force."¹ It was General Armstrong's conviction that a first aim, in the education of such a race as the African or the Polynesian, should be the establishment of a "routine of industrious habit, which is to character what the foundation is to the pyramid"; that "the results of attempting the higher education of uncivilized races as a part of mission work" have been almost universally disappointing; and that "a reënforcement of mechanics to train and harden the soft Hawaiian hand, to establish industrious habits, and thus to supply a stamina which the native character lacked, would have been wise missionary work even had it necessitated decreasing the number of clerical teachers."² Such methods might have done

¹ General S. C. Armstrong, *loc. cit.*

² "I do not think the higher education is suitable for [the Hawaiians]. I do not think they are fit for it, and having obtained it, they cannot make a right use of it." (The Rev. W. B. Oleson, in Senate Report, p. 503.)

something to toughen the fibre and prolong the life of the race, and they ought to have been employed; it seems doubtful, however, whether they or any others that might have been adopted would have had any very profound or permanent effect.

INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE

The productions and industries of aboriginal Hawaii have been described in earlier pages. Allusion has also been made to the introduction by Vancouver, in 1793, of cattle and sheep,¹ and by Cleveland, in 1803, of horses. These increased rapidly in number, the former augmenting the food supply, and the latter the labor efficiency and sporting facilities of the people. Reference has also been made to the Spaniard Marin, who arrived in 1791, and who for many years set the natives a wholesome example of industry and thrift.

American
missionaries

The influence of the American missionaries on the industries of the kingdom was also great.² "A prime farmer, with qualifications also for teaching," and "individuals . . . besides, skilled in various mechanical arts,"³ were of the first company sent out;

¹ According to Wyllie, "Captain Calmet left sheep on Kauai before Vancouver arrived." (Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 216.)

² See a careful article, by Professor W. D. Alexander in the "Annual" for 1895, on "Early Industrial Training of Hawaiians."

³ "Missionary Herald," xv. 429.

and they carried with them not only Bibles, but also "a good supply of the common implements of husbandry,—axes, ploughs, hoes, shovels, etc., etc., as also of the most important tools of various mechanical arts—smithery, carpentry, etc.," books, a printing-press, and "a font of types." This large and wise policy seems, indeed, to have been only half hearted on the part of the officials of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; for the farmer did not long remain, nor were the second farmer and the mechanics, whom it was proposed to send out three years later among the reënforcements of the mission, allowed to go. Nevertheless, it was inevitable that these shrewd and thrifty sons and daughters of New England should interest themselves—and increasingly so as time went on—in the physical and industrial, as well as spiritual, well-being of those whom they sought to "save." They taught, and themselves exemplified, the virtues of industry and economy.¹ They introduced manual training in their schools. At a general meeting held in 1826, they announced their purpose "to encourage the introduction of the civil

¹ "In the midst of the pressing labor to adapt themselves to their new surroundings, came a demand to them [the first missionary families, 1820] from the chiefs, for superfine broadcloth garments to be made up, and six ruffled shirts with plaited bosoms—a task they cheerfully rendered for the sake of gaining the confidence and favor of the people." (Mrs. Lydia Bingham Coan, in "Jubilee Celebration," p. 24.)

and domestic arts and virtues," and "to aim at nothing short of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization."

In a letter dated November 20, 1833, there are specified as among the multitudinous demands made upon them, the following: supervision of the construction of churches, school-houses, and homes for the people, and of wheels, looms, and articles of furniture; giving of instruction in the cultivation of imported plants, in the extraction of oil from the oil-nut, in the manufacture of paints; bringing of sulphur from the mountains, and teaching its use; and interpreting in business transactions between natives and foreigners.¹ In 1835, at a general meeting, it was resolved that while little could then be done directly toward the improvement of agriculture, the missionaries deemed the matter "of sufficient importance to warrant [them] to use [their] influence in encouraging the growth of cotton, coffee, sugar-cane, etc., that the people may have more business on their hands, and increase their temporal comforts." The same year a female teacher, sent out to instruct the natives in the manufacture of cloth and other similar arts, began work at Wailuku. She soon reported that her pupils had already become skilful in carding, spinning, and

¹ "Missionary Herald," xxx. 339.

knitting; four years later they had woven between five and six hundred yards of cloth.¹

In 1836 the king and chiefs sent a memorial to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, asking for more teachers.

"These are the teachers whom we would specify: a carpenter, tailor, mason, shoe-maker, wheelwright, paper-maker, type-founder; agriculturists skilled in raising sugar-cane, cotton and silk, and in making sugar; cloth-manufacturers, and makers of machinery to work on a large scale; and a teacher of the chiefs in what pertains to the land, according to the practice of enlightened countries; and if there be any other teacher that could be serviceable in these matters, such teachers also."²

In some part of this request, at least, the missionaries coincided; but it was refused, the matter not being "deemed of vital importance."

"The old newspapers, the 'Kumu Hawaii,' 'Nonanona,' 'Elele,' and the 'Hae Hawaii,' etc., teemed with articles on agriculture, on house-building, hygiene and kindred subjects," and the missionaries were "indefatigable in disseminating seeds and cuttings of fruit trees and of flowers through the country districts."³

Sixteen years after the work was begun, they were Progress able to report that —

¹ "Missionary Herald," xxxvi. 226.

² Anderson, "Hawaiian Islands," p. 127.

³ Alexander, in "Annual" for 1895, p. 94.

"the making up of clothing in foreign fashion, the manufacture of hats and bonnets, combs of tortoise-shell, and the wearing of these articles, is probably increased an hundred fold since the commencement of our work. . . . The trowel, turning-lathe, saw and plane begin to be used to improve their buildings and furniture. One or two pupils of the High School have commenced engraving on copper, with a view to furnish copies for writing, maps, etc. Thirty natives or more have been instructed and well initiated into the business of printing and book-binding. They learn with tolerable facility to set types and correct them, and they perform a great portion of this labor in issuing our publications. Nearly all the press-work that has been done at our presses has been done by native hands."¹

Miscellaneous staple goods and groceries were brought in from the United States, Europe, and Chili; "tea, rice, silks, cigars and other goods from China and Manila; lumber, spars, salmon, etc., from Columbia River; horses, mules, etc., from California, and specie and bullion from Mexico." Among exports were salt, hides, *kukui* oil, arrow-root, tobacco, and mustard seed. Attempts were made to introduce cotton, indigo, corn, potatoes, fruits, and other foreign products. The grass huts began to be replaced by "houses of wood, coral, and adobe; new wharves were constructed and streets improved."

In 1844 it was reported that the natives of the island of Hawaii were —

"building better houses, improving their wardrobe, procuring chairs, tables, chests, lamps, plates, cups, bowls, spoons, knives, looking-glasses, umbrellas, axes, saws, iron-ware, hammers, chisels, etc., etc.

¹ "Missionary Herald," xxxii. 354.

The multiplication of the articles of comfort and of utility has been truly surprising, within the last five years. Some are beginning to keep horses, cows, goats, etc., and to make use of milk in their families — a very recent innovation.”¹

This whole result was attributed by the writer to the stirring religious “revivals” through which the people had been passing. Four years later the same observer reported that the natives were rapidly securing writing-desks, stationery, cutlery, earthenware, glass and hardware, agricultural and mechanical implements, a greater variety of wholesome food, a more comfortable and respectable supply of clothing, time-pieces, domestic animals, roads, fences; and that the wealth of Hilo had probably increased tenfold during the preceding decade.² The same year, a writer at Waimea, on the same island, reported the formation among the natives of certain “civilization societies,” and added:—

“You will see native tailors and tailoresses, hat-braiders, shoemakers of both sexes, saddle-makers, carpenters, masons, sawyers, teamsters. You will now and then discover a coffee-garden and a flower-garden; herds of cattle, horses, goats and sheep; cattle carrying burdens instead of natives; a good road teeming with carts and oxen, all under native management; natives riding to meeting or school on horseback.”³

The discovery of gold in California, in 1848, exercised a great and manifold influence on the develop-

¹ “Missionary Herald,” xli. 86.

² *Ibid.*, xlv. 76.

³ *Ibid.*, xlv. 81.

ment of the islands. It drew heavily upon their scanty and dwindling population, both foreign and native; it thus seriously crippled certain of their industries; it curtailed production, and so reduced the volume of exports; but it made a market at very high prices for their surplus products, and stimulated interest in agriculture and in shipping.

In 1860 notable improvements were reported in the neighborhood of Hilo, as regards "houses, streets, roads, bridges, gardens, fences, plantations, fruits, flowers, animals, employment, dress, furniture, commerce, and the aggregate of material possessions." Calling attention to the fact that twenty-five years before, the town had only one frame house, no single road, no bridge, no implements of industry but the *o-o* and iron-hoop adze, no domestic animals but the cat, dog, and pig, no stores, no exports, almost no coins, the writer stated that there were then a hundred frame houses in the village, more than two hundred miles of roads in the surrounding country besides excellent streets in the town, scores of bridges, all sorts of utensils in abundance and of domestic animals, a considerable amount of money distributed widely among the people, fifteen stores, and some dozen articles of export.¹

On the whole, the charge often made against the missionaries that they had no concern for the indus-

¹ The Rev. Titus Coan, in "Missionary Herald," lvi. 292.

trial welfare of the natives cannot be sustained, as respects the most of them.

In general, it is obvious that there have been three principal eras in the commercial and industrial development of the islands since their discovery, and that each of these has profoundly modified their social condition,—the eras of sandalwood, of whaling vessels, and of sugar.¹ Although these overlap each other, it may be said, approximately, that the first covers the years 1810–1825; the second, 1819–1871; the third, 1876–1899.

While no exact figures are now obtainable, I conjecture that the sale of sandalwood, mostly at Canton, where it brought upwards of \$125 per

¹ The following list of “first things” may serve to outline the course of this development: in 1819 the first whaling vessels arrived at the islands; in 1825 the first sugar and coffee plantation was established; in 1835 the first systematic and successful attempt at the cultivation of cane was made; in 1837 the first sugar and molasses were exported; in 1840 the first silk; in 1845 the first coffee; in 1849 the first beef. In 1845 the first wheat was raised; in 1851 whale oil and bone were first transhipped; in 1855 flour was first exported. In 1853 the first steamer was employed in the inter-island trade; in 1857 honey-bees were introduced; in 1858 rice was first cultivated systematically. In 1858 the first bank was established. In 1866 regular monthly steamship connection with San Francisco was begun; in 1870 the first steamer on the Australian route arrived. In 1859 gas-light was introduced in Honolulu; in 1877 the first telegraph line was built, on Maui; in 1879 the first railway was constructed (the Wailuku & Kahului, on Maui); in 1879 the first artesian well was bored; in 1880 the telephone was introduced; in 1883 the Marine Railway was opened for service; in 1893 the harbor at Honolulu was dredged, and the first large ocean steamship entered; in 1893 the Canadian-Australian line was inaugurated.

ton, may have enriched Hawaii by three or four millions of dollars in money and goods, mostly the latter. The traffic resulted in a great expansion of shipping interests, some valuable drill in commercial and industrial methods, a wider knowledge of the world, a considerable diversification of life, and also in dissipation and headlong extravagance on the part of king and chiefs, and consequently burdensome debt; in the neglect of agriculture and consequent famine; and in the further oppression and overburdening of the people, who were compelled to carry the wood on their backs from mountain to shore.

Whalers

The first American whalers — the *Balæna* and *Equator*, of New Bedford — arrived in 1819. It was found that no other place was so convenient for the semiannual refitting, repairing, and provisioning of these vessels, and the transshipping of oil and bone, and the islands soon became the rendezvous for whalers of all countries. This business was at its height in the '50's, and gradually fell off thence, partly by the decline of the whaling industry, and partly by the transference of the business to San Francisco, until 1871, when it was brought nearly to an end by the destruction of the major part of the ships in the Arctic ice. During the ten years, 1851-1860 inclusive, 4420 visits of whalers were recorded at the several ports of

the islands; and there were transhipped 14,138,714 pounds of bone and 17,661,446 gallons of whale oil, besides nearly a million and a half gallons of sperm oil. This business created an extensive demand for wharves, shipyards, warehouses, agricultural products, merchandise, and labor, and brought the natives into contact with the sailors of all nations. That they were seriously demoralized and debilitated by this contact, there can be no doubt.

As to sugar, it will be remembered that cane is Sugar indigenous at the islands, and was eaten by the natives. When and by whom the first sugar was made, neither the missionaries nor the historian Jarves thought it worth while to inquire and record; and this now seems impossible to determine. The first cultivation of the cane for sugar making of which I have obtained authentic information was in 1825; and the first serious and successful attempt to manufacture the product ten years later.¹ "In 1838 there were in operation, and about to be erected, twenty mills by animal power and two by water power."² In 1851 the first centrifugal drying machine was put in operation; in 1858 steam was first used as a motive power; in 1861 the vacuum pan was introduced. The poor quality of the early product, droughts, the difficulty

¹ "Annual" for 1875, p. 34 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

and expense of irrigation, scarcity of labor, remoteness from markets, unfavorable customs duties, and the low price of sugar in the United States, operated to depress the industry. In 1857 there were only five plantations remaining; in 1861 there were twenty-two; in 1876 there were not more than thirty-five. The adoption in the last-mentioned year of the reciprocity treaty, which admitted to the United States free of duty, among other articles, "muscovado, brown, and all other unrefined sugar," "syrops of sugar-cane, melado, and molasses," gave a powerful stimulus and enormous profits¹ to the industry, which continued until the passage of the McKinley bill, in 1891, dealt it a heavy blow. In 1877 the number of plantations had increased to forty-six; in 1880 to above sixty; in 1885 to above seventy. In 1890 there were exported 259,789,462 pounds of sugar, having a value of \$12,159,585.01, and 74,926 gallons of molasses, having a value of \$7603.29. How greatly this industry enriched the islands, and expanded their life in all directions, is indicated by the fact that while the government expenditures for the biennial period ending March 31, 1876, were less than a million dollars (\$919,356.93), they amounted to

¹ The remission of duties under the reciprocity treaty was equivalent to a clear bonus to Hawaii of several millions of dollars annually. Without doubt the major part of the wealth of Honolulu was accumulated during this brief period, and as the result of this single convention.

\$4,712,285.20 for the period 1887-1888, and \$3,250,510.35 for the two following years; the public debt meantime having increased from less than half a million dollars (\$459,187.59) in 1876 to more than two millions and a half (\$2,599,502.94) in 1890. The two departments in which the expenditures were increased most, and most steadily, were those of Education and Health.

And it is of course to sugar as compared with sandalwood and whaling vessels that Hawaii owes the organization of industry in accordance with modern methods, the accumulation and concentration of capital,¹ the massing and exploitation under contract of labor, the diversification of population, the increase of luxury on the one hand and of a semi-servile class on the other, the larger interest in questions of international politics and trade, and to a considerable extent the demand for annexation to the United States, which are among the conspicuous marks of her recent social life.

While sugar has hitherto constituted and apparently must always constitute the principal industry of

Other
industries

¹ The records of the Interior Department showed, August 12, 1898, that there were then in the islands 190 mercantile, agricultural, and manufacturing corporations, having an original capital stock of \$31,088,750, which had been very largely increased; besides about a dozen foreign corporations doing business there, with a capital stock of fifteen or twenty millions. With two or three exceptions, these were all chartered after the adoption of the reciprocity treaty.

Hawaii, there are other products which have been grown to some extent, and promise much for the future. This is especially true of coffee.¹ Though the plant is not indigenous in the islands, it was introduced at an early day from Rio Janeiro, and now grows wild in many valleys of the group. Floods, drought, blight, and scarcity of labor have interfered with its cultivation. During the thirty years from 1845, when the berry was first exported, to 1874, the average annual exportation amounted to about 115,000 pounds. Of late, however, the business has considerably increased, 337,158 pounds, valued at about \$100,000, being exported in 1897. In the "Annual" for 1898, something over two hundred plantations are reported, having a total of some 550 acres of bearing trees, 1050 acres of trees from one to three years old, and 400 acres of trees newly planted; this summary is, however, confessedly incomplete.

The culture of coffee, as contrasted with that of sugar, tends to a greater subdivision of lands, the forming of homesteads, increased individual initiative, the evocation of mental and manual dexterity, and the employment of a better class of laborers.

Obviously, the lack of coal and metals will always preclude mining and any considerable development of manufacturing in the islands, and will thus largely

¹ For a history of coffee culture in Hawaii, see "Annual" for 1876 and 1895.

determine at once their industrial and social development.¹ The main source of their wealth, and the chief occupation of their inhabitants, must be agriculture. It is therefore important that this industry should be diversified, as far as possible. It will doubtless be found that a multitude of cereals, vegetables, and fruits, which had not been thought suited to such a climate, can be successfully cultivated, and that valuable fibre and food plants of many sorts can be introduced from other tropical and subtropical countries. The legislature of 1892 created a Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry, which should provide for the establishment of experiment stations; for free public lectures and distribution of information useful to agriculturists, stock-raisers, and others; for the securing from abroad of such knowledge, seeds, and plants as may be beneficial to the agricultural and commercial interests of the islands; and for the conservation of forests, the compilation of statistics relating to agricultural and stock-raising interests, and defence against the introduction and spread of insect pests and plant diseases. The important work thus begun will doubtless be carried on under the American Department of Agriculture.

¹ "On the extension of the American tariff to Hawaii there will be new opportunities for enterprise, such as canning of various kinds of fruit, the manufacture of textile fabrics, the production of tobacco, the cultivation of fruits and vegetables for American consumers, and raising flowers for the manufacture of perfumes." (Hon. S. B. Dole, in "*Harper's Weekly*," February 11, 1899.)

MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION

Immigration

Prior to 1850 the population was relatively homogeneous. With the development of the sugar industry, however, and in view of the indolence and the steady decrease in numbers of the natives, it became evident that a new supply of cheap and efficient labor must somehow be provided.¹ In January, 1852, about one hundred and eighty Chinese coolies were imported under contract; and six months later, about a hundred more. At first encouraged, and then discouraged, by legislative action and otherwise, Chinese immigration continued, until, in 1886, nearly a fourth part of the entire population was of that race (above twenty thousand). At various times, and by numerous persons, the belief had found expression that immigrants racially akin to the Hawaiians should be secured, in the hope of reinvigorating that decadent stock. Thus, Kamehameha III. made an unsuccessful effort to deport to Hawaii the entire population of Pitcairn Island. In 1855 Charles St. Julian was appointed commissioner by Kamehameha IV. to study the various peoples of Polynesia, with reference to their suitability as immigrants. In 1859 about twoscore South Sea Islanders were brought in under

¹ For a full account of Hawaiian immigration, see the Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration for 1886, and articles in the "Annual" for 1894 and 1896.

contract. Others were imported in 1868, and still others to the number of nearly two thousand in 1878 and the following years. In 1864 a Board of Immigration was established, and in 1872 the Hawaiian Immigration Society, the name of Kamehameha V. standing first on its list of members. Japanese immigration began in 1868; but it was not until many years later that it assumed considerable proportions. The census of 1884 gave only 116 Japanese residents; that of 1890, 12,360; that of 1896, 24,400. In 1878 the first importation of Portuguese under contract was made, though there were already several hundred persons of this nationality resident in the islands. In 1884 the Portuguese numbered 9377; in 1890, 8602; in 1896, 15,100. Norwegians and Germans were also persuaded and assisted to immigrate; and the total net result of nearly a half-century of these efforts, on which the Hawaiian people have expended above two million dollars, may be seen in the following table of population as given in the census of 1896¹:—

Native Hawaiians	31,019
Part Hawaiians	8,485
Japanese	24,407
Chinese	21,616
Portuguese	15,191

¹ Since the census of 1896 was taken, probably five or six thousand more Japanese have come in, and a considerable number of Chinese. The present population of the islands cannot be much less than 125,000.

Americans	3,086
British	2,250
Germans	1,432
Norwegians	378
French	101
South Sea Islanders	455
Others	600
Total	<hr/> 109,020

What part the sugar interest has played in determining the amount and quality of this immigration may be surmised from the fact that on December 31, 1897, 24,653 laborers were employed on plantations, and of this number only 1497 were Hawaiians, the remainder being distributed as follows: South Sea Islanders, 81; Portuguese, 2218; Chinese, 8114; Japanese, 12,068; Americans, British, and Germans, 526. Thus, of residents wholly or in part Hawaiian, only one in twenty-five is a plantation laborer, and of those American, British, and German, only one in thirteen; while the proportion for the Portuguese is one in seven, for the Chinese one in two and a half, for the Japanese one in two.

The immi-
grants

Of the three immigrant groups which are now preponderant in numbers—Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese—the first may be described as intelligent, imitative, active, fickle, somewhat inclined to conceit and to industrial insubordination, and, though cognate to the Hawaiians, not at all disposed to blend

with them in marriage. They are recruited from the lowest classes in Japan.¹ The Chinese have shown themselves, on the whole, industrious, persistent, shrewd, frugal, inclined to parsimony, and not averse to marital or irregular sexual relations with the natives. They have reclaimed and utilized much worthless swamp land in the growing of rice. Not a few of them have risen from the position of laborer to that of small farmer, pedler, shopkeeper, tradesman, artisan, capitalist, quietly and ruthlessly displacing and dispossessing the Hawaiians.² They have also added opium-eating and highbinding to the vices already prevailing. The Portuguese—introduced from Madeira and the Azores, and more or less mixed in blood with African and other stocks—are mostly industrious, thrifty, domestic, and law-abiding. No other element of the population figures so seldom in the criminal courts. They are better adapted, however, to a system of peasant

¹ "At present there are 20.62 per cent of the Japanese marriageable females unmarried, and it is safe to say that a considerable number of these are leading an immoral life." (Census Report for 1896, p. 89.)

² The Chinese now—1889—"hold 10.9 per cent of the driver's licenses; 18.2 per cent of the dray licenses; 20.6 per cent of the butcher licenses; 27.9 per cent of the hack licenses; 38.2 per cent of the horse-hiring licenses; 57 per cent of the wholesale spirit licenses; 62 per cent of the retail merchandise licenses; 84.7 per cent of the victualling licenses; 91.8 per cent of the pork butcher licenses; 100 per cent or all of the cake peddling." ("Annual" for 1890, p. 83.) Tables giving the occupations, and the numbers owning homes and real estate of the different nationalities, may be found in Appendix C, pp. 248, 249.

proprietorship than to the labor-gang, and have only in a very slight degree, therefore, met the need which led to their importation.

This copious influx of immigrants has brought about a social situation exceedingly complex. Nowhere else perhaps is society divided into groups and interests so sharply and profoundly differentiated. Native, foreign and mixed; Mongolian, Polynesian and Caucasian; American and European; royalist and republican; "missionary" and "anti-missionary"; pagan, semi-pagan, mormon, catholic, anglican, puritan, and secularist — these forces of social division are the more active because of the limited area and the isolated position of the field in which they are deployed. Society here is peculiarly tempestuous — as "in a tea-pot." The political effects of this admixture we have already sketched; but its effects in all other spheres are not less obvious.

Crime

The proportion of convicted criminals to the entire population of each nationality, as expressed in percentages, is given by Chief Justice Judd in his Reports for 1892 and 1897 as follows:—

	1892	1897
Chinese	9.86	17.36
Japanese	7.31	7.94
Hawaiians	8.04	7.85
Portuguese	5.58	3.49
Other foreigners	10.73	12.44

During the years 1896-1897 there were 10,355 convictions for criminal offences, being 60 per cent more than in the city of New Haven (6443), which has about the same population as all the islands together. The number seems excessive; but an examination of cases shows that an unusually large proportion were for offences created by statute, and of minor importance. Thus, 2861 convictions were for gambling; 986 for importing, selling, or having possession of opium; 1862 for drunkenness; 375 for liquor selling and distilling; 1208 for assault, etc.; 1440 for "driving or bicycle riding without lights"; 169 for "fast or heedless driving or riding." Similarly, of the 6319 civil cases tried during 1896-1897, 2473 or 39 per cent were for "deserting or refusing bound service," and had to do with the contract labor law under which Asiatics were employed on plantations.

The introduction of the Chinese and Japanese in such numbers has not only placed the standard of life for the laboring man at a low point, it has also seriously impaired the family institution. The Asiatics being unmarried, wages have been adjusted—partially, at least, and in accordance with the so-called "iron law"—to the necessities of the single man. This is nearly equivalent to the exclusion of the man of family from gainful occupation. But the family, of say five members, is, and must remain, the

Labor
problems

industrial unit in any stable civilization. The Hawaiian system of employment has been hostile, therefore, to civilization itself. And it has been the more so because of the excessive preponderance of males over females in the immigrant population, except in the case of the Portuguese. In 1890 the proportion was more than eighteen to one for the Chinese, nearly five to one for the Japanese, and more than two to one for the Americans, British, and Germans. Since then the number of Asiatic females has largely increased; but even yet there are eight times as many men as women among the Chinese.¹ If no society can be healthy under such conditions, this is conspicuously true of that in Hawaii, already seriously debilitated by unchastity and of easy habit by racial and immemorial inclination.

Moreover, it is by no means impossible that the antipathy existing between the two Asiatic races may some time involve them, and the entire population of the islands with them, in hostilities of a very serious nature and issuing in grave international complica-

¹ See tables in Appendix C, pp. 246, 247.

This striking abnormality of population, as concerns both age and sex, is shown in the diagrams on the following page. The first represents the native white population of the United States, of native parentage, according to the census of 1890; it may be taken as indicating the normal condition. The second represents the population of Hawaii, according to the census of 1896. The very remarkable increase of children under six years of age, as shown in the second diagram, is encouraging, but inquiry develops the fact that this increase is in the families of foreigners rather than natives.

tions.¹ The heaping together of inflammable elements, in quantities beyond all power of control, cannot be regarded as wise. It is certainly a fair question to ask whether, considering the extraordinary advantages given to Hawaiian capital by the reciprocity treaty and the enormous profits resulting, planters and government alike were not under a moral obligation to secure a better class of laborers, and share more generously with them their own great good fortune. This would have been to safeguard the family and enrich society itself, besides forestalling the most serious objection to annexation. The complaint of a local newspaper seems to have been justifiable:—

“Not a single dollar of the appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for immigration other than Asiatic has yet [September 3, 1897] been spent in bringing in Americans. . . . The Annexation Club has never opened its mouth formally in favor of white labor. . . . The Planters' Supply Company has never taken a decided attitude in favor of Anglo-Saxon civilization. . . . Out of sixty-six plantations, but three have actually resolved to try Anglo-Saxon labor. . . . Not a single plantation has yet even tried a thoroughly well-organized experiment in Anglo-Saxon labor. . . . The last legislature, an annexation body, did not lift its finger in the project of promoting Anglo-Saxon immigration. . . . We are after cheap labor. ‘Scrubs’ will do for us, if they are cheap. The missionaries can always be

¹ The suggestion of the text finds support in the fact that on Sunday, March 26, 1899, a collision between Chinese and Japanese laborers occurred at Kahuku, Oahu, in which a considerable number of the former are reported to have been killed or seriously injured.

turned loose on them. We are not looking for quality and character, but low prices.”¹

When the necessity of abating Asiatic immigration became apparent, and as though the admixture and complication of races were not already excessive, it was seriously proposed by some to import negroes from the southern states of America as plantation laborers; and this despite the fact that the presence of the negro in the United States constitutes its most difficult and threatening social problem; that the race as a whole seems to be increasing in criminality, and diminishing in vitality and industrial efficiency; and that sober, thrifty, intelligent, and honest negroes can do better in their present homes than in competition with Asiatic labor at the islands, and could not therefore be persuaded to emigrate, save through deception.

¹ “Hawaiian Gazette,” August 17 and September 3, 1897.

The complaint of the Hawaiian Patriotic League, however, while not without some justification, was grossly exaggerated, and intended for political effect: “Sugar has been a curse to these favored islands, making some few men, foreigners, immensely rich, but impoverishing the masses, the natives especially, and bringing about corruption and greed and political venality unknown to the converts of the early missionaries. . . . Through the American reciprocity treaty of 1876, which was granted essentially with the idea of benefiting especially the aborigines, American gold began to roll in by millions into the coffers of the planters . . . while the select authors of this untold wealth — the poor laborers — got barely enough to cover their nakedness and food enough to give them strength for their daily task.” (In Blount, p. 450.)

In mitigation of the foregoing criticism, however, five facts should be borne in mind:—

1. The expansion of the sugar industry, the “peaceful invasion” of Asiatics, and the consequent industrial and social problems came suddenly and all together. Time was not given to deal adequately with the situation, or fully to feel the infelicity of it.

2. “Nearly all the plantations were started on borrowed capital. Great sums were needed for the sugar-making plants and for vast improvements in the way of irrigation, transportation, and modern appliances for cultivation. The strain was thus primarily to free the plantations from debt. So great was this strain that many were unable to meet it, and plantation after plantation changed hands, and individual after individual lost all he had.”¹

3. “When the business began to pay, it did so all at once. There was a plethora of money. But this did not lead to extravagance. There were better houses and business blocks, but there were better wharves and roads also; better school buildings and churches; better quarters for plantation laborers; better medical care, higher wages, and vastly improved conditions for all men who were too independent to come under the contract system.”¹

¹ The Rev. W. B. Oleson, in a letter to the author.

4. A prosperity which is largely founded in tariff conventions is always uncertain as to its continuance; and this uncertainty necessitates and justifies a margin of profits abnormally large.

5. The planters themselves were not oblivious to the mischiefs wrought by the system in vogue, and some extremely interesting experiments in other forms of employment have been made. This is especially the case with the "purchase system" in use on the great Ewa plantation. It is reported that Chinese laborers do twenty-five per cent more work on this free plan than under the "penal contract" system. "A wider contrast can hardly be presented to-day in our sugar fields than that between a 'company' man on Ewa plantation, willing and interested in his work, unbossed by *luna*; and a contract hand, just returned from court, fined for '*haalele hana*' [quitting work], and with a swearing *luna* over him."¹ Similar testimony has been given by Judge W. F. Frear.² It is to be

¹ J. B. Castle, in "Hawaiian Gazette," February 23, 1897.

² Address before the Honolulu Social Science Association, June 28, 1897.

One of the earlier attempts — and a very effective one — to bring this matter under discussion was the paper read March 12, 1892, before the Honolulu Social Science Association, by the Rev. W. B. Oleson, principal of the Kamehameha School, in which the economic and social disadvantages of the contract labor system were pointed out, and a proposal made for the "dismemberment of the large sugar estates into leaseholds of from five to twenty or thirty acres each. . . . to be taken up by

hoped that through these experiments some method of coöperation or profit-sharing may be devised, by which the growing of sugar will be made a tolerable or even an inviting occupation for the white farmer. And I believe that American experience with Italian labor is such as ought to lend encouragement to the effort now making to induce immigration to Hawaii from that country.

In a memorial addressed to the Hawaiian Commission (September 8, 1898), the planters said:—

“The evils of the [penal contract] system, and its tendency to depreciate the standard of labor as an honorable calling, have been recognized and appreciated by the great bulk of intelligent people of Hawaii, and it has almost entirely fallen into disuse, except with relation to the newly imported immigrants and the securing of the advances made to and on account of them. So great has been this tendency that the census of 1896 shows that of approximately ~~thirty-five~~ thirty thousand laborers only approximately ten thousand were working under contract, and these almost exclusively under contracts made abroad. . . . Contrary to usual comment and understanding in the United States, the average cost of labor in Hawaii does not vary much from the average cost of similar labor in the United States. The average cost of ordinary field labor in Hawaii, counting in the lodgings, medical attendance, wood, water, and land for cultivation, almost universally furnished to the laborers, does not in any case fall below sixteen dollars a month, in most cases comes to as high as eighteen dollars a month, and ranges upward to twenty dollars and even more a month.”

responsible laborers who wish to make a home for themselves, and are ready to make the getting of such a home dependent on their industry, frugality, and enterprise.” This paper was printed in “The Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer,” July 16, 1892.

I fear that the phrase "similar labor in the United States" and the list of extras furnished are somewhat elastic, and that the relative cost of living for Anglo-Saxons in the two countries is overlooked, for the memorial pleads for a partial and temporary exemption from the laws governing immigration into the United States, and asserts that —

"It is open to question whether any considerable number of American laborers will be content to accept the wages which the Hawaiian agricultural industries can afford to pay, even though under the present special tariff conditions the sugar industry may be able to pay a somewhat higher rate of wages than that heretofore paid."¹

Happily, the Commission did not acquiesce in these views, but included in the bill recommended by them to Congress the application to Hawaii of the United States laws governing immigration and contract labor.²

¹ How much the sugar industry "can afford to pay" I do not know. But as throwing some light on the matter I subjoin the following paragraph from the "Hawaiian Star," March 30, 1899:—"At the meeting of the directors of the Honokaa Sugar Company held this morning it was decided to pay a monthly dividend of 2½ per cent. This is in lieu of the 30 per cent per annum. The plantation finds it can pay this dividend and still hold ample running reserve. . . . At to-day's meeting it was decided to order considerable new machinery for the mill."

² A special committee — Messrs. Cullom, Morgan, and Dole — reported as follows: —

"The Committee is therefore of the opinion that the enforcement of the present United States laws regarding imported laborers, with the application of the American policy of fostering the interests of the individual citizens instead of promoting undue accumulations of corporate capital, or the extension of corporate powers in the control of large tracts of land, and

DECAY OF NATIVE POPULATION

The movement of population among savage and barbarian races, and especially their tendency to disappear when in contact with civilization, has been much discussed.¹ Unhappily, however, no sufficiently copious collection of facts, covering the whole field, has yet been made; besides which, it must be confessed that one essential element of the problem, namely, the laws determinative of birth-rates, even under the most ordinary and simple conditions, remains still, despite the researches of biologists, about as obscure as ever. The facts seem to be these, however:—

1. Among many nature peoples, the Malthusian law of population, however true elsewhere, does not hold good; even prior to contract with whites, and amid a plentiful food supply, they barely hold their own in numbers, or diminish—and this, in some cases, apart from the results of war and the practice of infanticide.²

with such other legislation, either territorial or national, as experience and good judgment may have indicated, so as to make the whole of the Territory accessible by good roads and the arid lands available for settlement by means of irrigation, the whole country may then become a desirable place for the development of American citizenship."

¹ See especially Gerland, "Ueber das Aussterben der Naturvölker," and Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," i. 330 *et seq.*

² "In Africa at the present time, where the influence of the European has not yet been felt, there are negro tribes which are becoming extinct

2. Contact with civilization commonly accelerates this process of decay, where it is present, and often introduces it where it was not found before.

So far as the Hawaiian Islands are concerned the movement of the native population may be summarized thus: Cook estimated its number, in 1778, at 400,000, how accurately it is impossible to say. The more usual opinion has been that the figures were too high by perhaps a third, but some competent observers among the early white residents accepted Cook's estimate, basing their judgment on the very extensive architectural and other remains everywhere existing.

Decrease of
population

Vancouver¹ described the change which had taken place between his first visit with Cook in the year aforesaid, and his second visit in 1792, as an "apparent depopulation." A certain village had been "reduced at least two-thirds of its size." He could not find that any of the chiefs whom he had known, save one, still lived.² In 1823 the missionaries estimated the number of natives at 142,000; the census

without any apparent reason, without any change in their external condition, and almost without having become reduced in number by war." (Topinard, "Anthropology," p. 416.)

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. 188.

² This extraordinary diminution was due, he thought, to "incessant war."

The opinion sometimes advanced that the decay of the native population has been caused by missionary work among them is unintelligent. It had proceeded far, long before the first missionaries arrived. Ellis narrates ("Tour," p. 287) a conversation on this topic between himself and certain

of 1832 gave it as 130,313¹; that of 1836, as 108,579¹; that of 1853, as 70,036; that of 1860, as 65,506; that of 1866, as 57,125; that of 1872, as 49,044; that of 1878 as 44,088; that of 1884, as 40,014; that of 1890, as 34,436; that of 1896, as 31,019. Meantime, a group of "part Hawaiians" has been growing up, amounting, in 1853, to 983; in 1866, to 1640; in 1872, to 1487(?); in 1878, to 3420; in 1884, to 4218; in 1890, to 6186; in 1896, to 8485.

It is commonly asserted that the decrease of the Hawaiian population was less marked during the last census period (1890-1896) than in the preceding (1884-1890).² Assuming the accuracy of the census of 1884, this would obviously be true. But even so,

natives of Waiakea, some of whom objected to the coming of missionaries among them, on the ground that contact with whites in other countries had resulted in the extinction of the aboriginal peoples. Ellis reminded them that according to their own statement the population of the islands had shrunk three-fourths within a period of forty years, and that unless some check were applied to this movement, they must shortly disappear altogether; and he assured them that no other remedy could be found than the intellectual, ethical, and spiritual reinvigoration which the missionaries were seeking to impart.

A similar decadence had occurred elsewhere. The chiefs of the Society Islands, in the early days of missionary work among them, often compared their people to "a firebrand unconsumed among the smouldering embers of a recent conflagration—a small *toea* [remainder] left after the extermination of Satani, or the evil spirit." (Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," ii. 31.)

¹ Including foreigners; but these were few at that time.

² Thus, A. T. Atkinson, General Superintendent of the last census, in "Annual" for 1898, p. 81. The Hon. J. H. Blount (Report, p. 89) intimates his belief that there is even "a gradual increase in the native population."

the diminution would be slightly greater in the last period, relatively to the whole number of natives, than during the years 1878-1884. And if we neglect the suspicious census of 1884, and compare the twelve-year period 1878-1890 with the six-year period 1890-1896, we shall find that the percentage of decrease is less than the tenth part of one per cent lower in the latter period than in the former. In other words, the pure blood Hawaiians are still steadily tending to disappear, as aforetime, and the remnant left by death will slowly but surely be conquered by love, blending by marriage with alien races.¹

The movement of population in any country, apart from the effects of war, infanticide, human sacrifice, pestilence, famine, and the like, is of course determined by the ratio to one another of *fecundity* and *viability*, or of the birth-rate and death-rate. And there can be no doubt, whatever may have been the case in earlier times, that the birth-rate was low and the death-rate high among the Hawaiians from our first knowledge of them.² It is a striking fact,

Low birth-
rate

¹ "The teaching of the Hawaiian *kahunas* [sorcerers] is that the decay of the race is the result of the vengeance of their old-time offended deities fearful of being supplanted by the white man's God who, they claim, was brought from over the water in a book [the Bible]." (Emerson, "Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society," ii. 24.)

² Maternity statistics may be found in Appendix C, p. 248. The statement of Huth ("Marriage of Near Kin," p. 84), that the "Polynesian women are remarkably fruitful," citing Hawaii, Tahiti, New Zealand, Tonga, Jukopia, Samoa; and that viability is not lower here than in

indeed, that most of the genealogies given by Fornander seem to indicate small families as the early and continuing rule. Thus "Kalaniopuu had at different times of his life six wives"; one of them was childless, one bore two sons, and the other four had each a single issue.¹ In 1838 the Rev. W. P. Alexander computed that only 3335 births had occurred on the islands during the preceding year, as against 6838 deaths.² In 1840 Mr. Whitney told Commodore Wilkes that for several years he had kept a register of births and deaths on the island of Kauai, and that the latter were to the former as three to one.

Dr. Andrews, resident physician at Kailau, Hawaii, reported³ that "out of ninety-six married females, nearly all under forty-five years of age, twenty-three had no children; the remaining seventy-three had 299, of which 152 did not survive the second year; a large proportion of them died at from six to ten months old; six died between six and ten years; and fourteen died when over ten years old." When several children were born in a family, few of them long survived; thus, it was reported by the missionaries at his death that Governor Cox "had eight

Europe, seems to be a mistake as concerns all the islands, and both the particulars, mentioned.

¹ *Op. cit.*, ii. 204.

² "Friend," July, 1844.

³ Wilkes, *op. cit.*, iv. 95.

children, but we do not know that any of them are now living.”¹ About a score of years after the landing of the first missionary families, the contrast in fecundity and viability between them and the natives was pointed out—the missionary families averaging six and five-ninths children each, while twenty chiefs had only nineteen children among them.² From a “careful census” of Kauai,³ made in 1839, it appears that among 1829 adult females, only sixty-five were the mothers of three or more children. In one district of that island (Hanapepe), eight deaths to a birth had occurred for a number of years.

Of the causes of this former low birth-rate and frequent sterility among the Hawaiians some are obvious enough, and some are obscure or merely conjectural. It was doubtless due in part to the avoidance of conception and the procuring of abortion by artificial means. Of other causes, we may perhaps regard sexual irregularities and excesses as the most influential. Some of the more deleterious of these habits began to be practised at a very early age, and were cultivated with extreme ardor and recklessness by most of the people. One result was the premature ripening and exhaustion of the reproductive powers, in both sexes. Moreover, promiscuous

Causes of
infertility

¹ “Missionary Herald,” xxi. 174.

² Cheever, “Island World,” p. 397.

³ Reported in Jarves, *op. cit.*, p. 373

relationships diminished fertility, as the history of prostitution shows that it everywhere does,—though *why*, it is by no means entirely clear. Again, the introduction and rapid spread of venereal diseases greatly diminished the fecundity of the race, besides impairing also its general health. In particular, it caused an abnormal number of miscarriages. It is even a question whether widespread intercourse with the whites did not have a direct and disastrous influence on the fruitfulness of the females; Count Strzelecki maintained that the women of nature peoples ("he asserts that he has collected hundreds of such cases among the Hurons, Seminoles, Araucanos, Polynesians, and Melanesians") having once co-habited with white men, whether with the issue of children or not, are thenceforward sterile with men of their own race—a view which Broca adopted in part,¹ giving eminent medical authority also in its favor. This opinion does not seem especially reasonable, and there is, so far as I am aware, no sufficient body of ascertained fact by which it can be tested; but it is not in itself absurd. What is strange is, that the unions of whites and natives were themselves so seldom fruitful. The end of the first half of the century found considerably less than a thousand mongrels on the islands; the end of the second half will find some ten thousand. The latter figure is not specially

¹ "Recherches sur l'hybridité," etc., Paris, 1860, p. 649.

surprising, for a large number of mixed marriages have occurred; but the former is. If we subtract from the whole number of half-breeds those who were born in wedlock during that period, the remainder will be inconsiderable; and if we are to credit the accounts of constant promiscuous intercourse of native females with white men from the time of Cook onward,¹ the questions rise, Where were the issues of these unions? Were the unions infertile? And if so, why? Were the offspring destroyed at birth? Or did they die in infancy?

We have a similar condition in New South Wales, where a white population, predominantly masculine and largely convict, lived for long in contact with the aborigines, with scanty issue of mongrels. So, too, in Tasmania. Here, for a third of a century before the massacre and deportation of the natives, they lived in constant intercourse with numerous English, nearly all males, and among them many convicts, whose passions it may be presumed were unbridled,—not to dwell on the fact that during thrice that length of time sailing vessels from various European countries had landed there. But almost no half-breeds resulted. The bearing of these facts on the question of race admixture, and of fecundity in general, is obscure; but they seem

¹ Thus, for example, Coan conjectured that forty thousand seamen, of many nationalities, visited the single port of Hilo between 1836 and 1880.

at least to indicate, as the history of prostitution does, that all sexual irregularities are unfavorable to the procreation of offspring;¹ it may be that we shall finally find this influence to be psychical even more than physical.

Change of
condition

In general, it is probably true of man, as it certainly is true in general of animal species, — being in both cases inexplicable at present, — that changes of habit and condition tend toward a diminished birth-rate. Thus Darwin, basing the opinion upon a large collection of facts, holds² that both —

¹ F. L. Hoffman has prepared a table based on reports of an agency physician and of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and covering eleven tribes, in which the mutual relations of intercourse with whites, of chastity, of venereal disease, and of viability among the North American Indians is shown. Four tribes, embracing a population of 6237 in 1895, were relatively free from intercourse with whites, were characterized by chaste habits, were free from venereal disorders, and were slowly gaining in population; seven tribes, having 6889 members, were in common intercourse with whites, were of unchaste habit, were saturated with venereal disease, and had suffered a diminution of forty-three per cent in population within a period of thirteen years. (“Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro,” p. 325.)

I add also the following, communicated to me by the Rev. W. B. Oleson in a letter: —

“It was reported to me by Rev. A. O. Forbes, the Secretary of the Hawaiian Board of Missions, and by Mr. J. S. Emerson, a member of the Government Survey Department, both of whom were intimately acquainted with all the facts in the case, that, in 1887, when the statement was made to me, the schools in Kona, Hawaii, were full of Hawaiian children; Hawaiian families had more children in that district than elsewhere; and the Hawaiian population was more than holding its own. And the explanation was, that there were few whites there, few Asiatics, and few influences foreign to the habitual life of Hawaiians.”

² “Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication,” ii. 148 *et seq.*

“animals and plants, when removed from their natural conditions, are often rendered in some degree infertile, or completely barren. . . . It is possible and generally easy to tame most animals; but experience has shown that it is difficult to get them to breed regularly, or even at all [even when coupling freely enough]. . . . Monkeys very rarely breed when confined in their native country. . . . It is said that as many as eighteen species [of carnivorous birds] have been used in Europe for hawking, and several others in Persia and India; they have been kept in their native countries in the finest condition, and have been flown during six, eight, or nine years; yet there is no record of their having ever produced young. . . . Though many [parrots] have been kept in Europe, they breed so rarely that the event has been thought worthy of recording in the gravest publications. . . . When conception takes place under confinement, the young are often born dead, or die soon, or are ill-formed. . . . The mother’s milk often fails.”

Darwin then discusses and rejects the putative causes of this infertility; it is not due to disease of the reproductive organs, nor to failure of the sexual instinct, nor specifically to change of climate, or in the kind or quality of food, nor to want of exercise; and he adds, “It would appear that any change in the habits of life, whatever these habits may be, if great enough, tends to affect in an inexplicable manner the powers of reproduction.”

This law seems to apply, at least in some degree, to man. Thus the remnant of the Tasmanians who occupied Van Diemen’s Land were transferred thence, in 1835, to Flinders’ Island in Bass’s Strait. They numbered two hundred and ten souls; but at the end

of seven years, though they were in the meantime abundantly fed and cared for, only fourteen children had been born, and the population was reduced to forty. In 1862 the last man of them died, and ten years later the last woman, leaving only a few half-castes.

Other
causes

To these general statements, the fact may be added that early Hawaiian mothers were in the habit of suckling their children during a long period,¹ partly perhaps with intent to postpone a second pregnancy, but largely because there was no other food supply suitable for infants, on account of the lack of domestic animals, — a fact which must also have had a marked and unfavorable effect on infant mortality.² There can hardly be any doubt, moreover, that the almost universal habit among Hawaiian women of furious horse-back riding, man-fashion, has resulted in a diminution of the number of births; but inasmuch as the horse was not introduced until 1803, and did not come into general use before the middle of the century, this fact would not help toward accounting for the low birth-rate in the earlier period.

Death-rate

As to the mortality of the natives, that has always been, and continues to be, excessive. For example, the several nationalities resident in Honolulu suffered

¹ In many Indian tribes children are suckled to the fourth, fifth, or even twelfth year, with consequent lowering of the birth-rate.

² Lubbock, "The Origin of Civilization," p. 55.

the following death-rate per 1000, in two recent years:—

	1896	1897	ESTIMATED POPU- LATION
Hawaiians	32.78	29.30	11,000
Asiatics	14.60	19.30	10,000
Portuguese	19.48	15.79	3,000
Others	16.10	14.68	4,000
All Nationalities . .	22.43	21.97	30,000

The chief causes which produced the excessive mortality of early days have already been mentioned, viz., war, the practice of infanticide, and the offering of human sacrifices. These, indeed, ceased to operate, but others took their place; I specify six as especially influential: (1) venereal disease; (2) other infectious or contagious maladies; (3) the excessive use of intoxicants; (4) change of physical and psychical habit; (5) leprosy; and (6) *kahuna* practice.¹

¹ Gerland ("Ueber das Aussterben der Naturvölker," p. 118), after speaking of the destruction of many nature peoples by war, etc., says:—"The Polynesians, on the other hand, have for the most part destroyed themselves; first, by their measureless sexual excesses (Tahiti, Hawaii); secondly, by the practice of infanticide so frightfully prevalent among them; thirdly, by the sanguine and devastating wars which they waged among themselves; fourthly, by the severe oppression of the common people by the ruling classes; and, fifthly, by the slight value attached by them to human life. They were already in process of extinction when civilization came to them; and this, except in a few cases, merely brought the disease with which they were already saturated and poisoned to a more speedy, and a fatal, issue, through the physical and psychical excitation which it inevitably wrought, and which constituted, thus, the sixth cause of their extirpation."

Venereal
disease

1. The first of these, introduced by whites, was spread, through the loose sexual relations of the people, with unexampled rapidity. It is hardly too much to say that it saturated the whole race; and it resulted, in addition to frequent sterility, in undermining the strength of adults so as to make them the easy prey of tubercular and other diseases; and in a diminished viability, alike pre-natal and post-natal, for the new generation. It is probably correct to say, as a distinguished authority has done,¹ that syphilis is, next to tuberculosis, the worst enemy of the human race; and nowhere, perhaps, have these two implacable destroyers wrought together more unhindered, and with more fatal effect, than in Hawaii.

Other
diseases

2. The germs of epidemic diseases also found there a virgin field, a weakened power of resistance, an inadequate supply of skilled physicians and nurses, an abundance of *kahunas*, and almost complete ignorance of hygienic, sanitary, and remedial measures on the part of the people,² as well as superstition

¹ Professor F. Renk, in Conrad's "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," v. 299.

² "In my ministry among the thousands of Hilo and Puna, I have witnessed not only scores who have died in early life from the effects of bad habits, but also hundreds whose days have been shortened from sheer ignorance of physiological law. . . . Tormented with heat and thirst [the sick] plunged by scores and hundreds into the nearest water, salt or fresh, they could find, and, the eruption being suppressed, they died in a few hours." (The Rev. Titus Coan, "Life," pp. 258-260.)

and timidity. As was inevitable, these diseases exploited the nation, sometimes with frightful effect. There is a tradition, apparently authentic, that some sort of pestilence, the *okuu*,—possibly resembling the Black Plague,—swept the islands in the first decade of the present century, and “took off the majority (*hapa nui*) of the population.”¹ The “Friend” reports in March, 1849, that “by the epidemics [whooping cough, measles, diarrhœa, and influenza] which have raged among the Hawaiians during the last twelve months, it is estimated that not less than 10,000 [persons] have been swept away, or about one-tenth of the population.”² During eight months of the years 1853–1854 the small-pox ravaged Oahu and Hawaii, 6405 cases being reported, and 2485 deaths. The mortality resulting from subsequent epidemics—small-pox in 1881, and cholera in 1895—was relatively slight.

3. The proneness of the natives to alcoholic excess has already been pointed out. The usual effects of this habit are well known, such as: the impairment of digestion, the degeneration of the blood, the excitation and partial paralysis of the nervous system, the enfeeblement of the heart, the derangement of the skin, the kidneys, and the liver, the diminution of the

Alcoholic
excess

¹ Native writer in “Kuokoa,” February 28, 1863; quoted in “Annual” for 1897, p. 96.

² Topinard (*op. cit.*, p. 414) states that measles destroyed half the population of the Fiji Islands.

power to resist disease and of virility, the debilitation of the will, the obfuscation of the moral sense; and with all this, the tendency toward alcoholism, imbecility, epilepsy, and insanity in offspring. In the case of the Hawaiians, we have also to remember the greater gravity which a tropical climate always gives to most of these effects of alcoholic dissipation;¹ and the ignorance, the love of excitement, the frolicsome and imitative nature, and the want of self-control, which left the people without inner restraint.

Change of
habit

4. While a change of habit or condition does not appear to affect viability as it often does fecundity, in a wholly unexplainable manner, it may exert a baleful influence upon it of another and more obvious sort. Thus, in the Hawaiian Islands, the introduction of civilized modes of dress, partly through the exhortations of the modest missionaries, and partly through the dominant imitative faculty and the love of ornament which characterized the natives, proved in many instances disastrous. Habituated formerly to a nudity almost entire,² "they often put on two pairs of pantaloons over a thick woollen shirt, with tight boots, and a thick coat or heavy overall," and appeared thus in public, "panting with heat and wet

¹ "A skinful of beer and a small hat mean a short life if a merry one under a tropical sun." (Younghusband, "The Philippines," etc., New York, 1899.)

² It has been said that the usual costume of the early Hawaiian was "a smile, a *malo* [girdle], and a cutaneous eruption."

with perspiration," only to fling all this aside on returning home, and sit or sleep in the thinnest clothing and the coolest place to be found.¹ "The writer remembers seeing the native church-goers, when caught in a shower on approaching the meeting-house, throw off their finery, men and women together, and enter the building almost *in puris naturalibus*, with their coats and gowns in bundles under their arms. Within, the voice of the preacher could hardly be heard above the coughing and sneezing of the crowded audience."²

So far as their huts were replaced by houses, the benefit was not unmixed with harm, "for, instead of ventilating them wisely," it was their frequent habit to shut "every door and window of a small and close room, lie down, cover their head with a woollen blanket, and thus sleep all night, the air growing more and more impure."³ It was especially pulmonary diseases, and in particular tuberculosis, which resulted from these changes of condition and habit,—the more so as the syphilitic taint had induced a predisposition to these disorders.

5. As to the origin of leprosy in Hawaii there is Leprosy some uncertainty. Sir Morell Mackenzie⁴ quotes

¹ The Rev. Titus Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

² Dr. Titus Munson Coan, in the "Nation," July 24, 1879.

³ The Rev. Titus Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

⁴ "Nineteenth Century" for December, 1889,—with this Alexander seems to concur ("History," p. 290).

Dr. W. Hillebrand as having treated the first case in 1853. Dr. Dwight Baldwin, however, asserts¹ that the disease was brought by a native chief from abroad about 1840. Be that as it may, the malady became widespread, insomuch that the policy of segregation at a point near Honolulu was entered upon in 1863. Two years later, the famous leper settlement was established on Molokai, and an organized effort begun to extirpate the disease. The natives, however, were opposed to this policy, — they did not much fear the malady, nor feel the necessity of a vigorous assault upon it; nor did they relish the prying inspection of officials, and the rupture of social ties and lifelong banishment to which it might lead. Armed, and even fatal, resistance to arrest and deportation was sometimes made; and the antagonism of native and white elements, which is the “open secret” of later Hawaiian history, was thus greatly augmented. As a result, and for political reasons, the policy of segregation was seriously interfered with.

The number of lepers on the books of the settlement at various periods is as follows: —

1866 . . .	105	1885 . . .	655
1870 . . .	279	1890 . . .	1213
1875 . . .	706	1895 . . .	1087
1880 . . .	606	1897 . . .	1100

¹“Friend,” February, 1890.

The above eleven hundred (December 31, 1897) were distributed by nationality as follows:—

Hawaiians and part Hawaiians	1046
Chinese	32
Portuguese	6
Americans	5
British	4
Germans	4
South Sea Islanders	2
Russians	1

Though the numbers at the settlement have increased in recent years, this fact does not indicate that leprosy has itself been increasing, but rather that efforts at isolation have been more strenuous and successful, and that the death-rate at the settlement has been diminished by the earlier removal thither of the sick, and perhaps in a less degree by the adoption of more thorough sanitary and medical measures. That the disease is decreasing throughout the islands, is the general testimony of government physicians, as printed in the reports of the Board of Health. Happily—though this is a fact not generally understood—“it is exceedingly rare that a child inherits leprosy, and even where both parents are lepers, if the child is removed before it has become infected with the disease by contact after birth, there is small danger of its developing leprosy.”¹ “A man on Molokai mar-

¹ The Hon. W. O. Smith, President of the Board of Health, in Report for 1897, p. 10.

ried in succession two leprous women, both of whom died, and both of whom bore seemingly healthy children.”¹ With the consent of the parents, these “clean” children are removed from the colony, and reared in private families, or—in the case of girls—in the Kapiolani Home, under the care of the Franciscan Sisters. There seems to be little doubt that this incurable and frightful disease, though two and a half per cent of the native population are even yet dying of it, will ultimately be extirpated. Meantime, how slight the danger of infection is, for whites, may be surmised from the foregoing figures; and that every effort is made which reason or charity could suggest to give care, and comfort, and culture to the unfortunates at the settlement, may be believed on the testimony of Robert Louis Stevenson, and many others who have visited it.

Kahuna
practice

6. To what extent *kahuna* practice prevails it is difficult for obvious reasons to determine.² I find the

¹ Mary H. Krout, “Hawaii and a Revolution,” p. 195. She adds, “The husband did not himself contract the disease.”

² The procedure and influence of the *kahuna* are thus vividly described by the Rev. Sereno E. Bishop: “When a Hawaiian is ill, his superstitious relatives and friends immediately seek to persuade him that his sickness is owing to the malign presence of some demon, who must either be propitiated or expelled by force. Some *kahuna* is called in to accomplish this object. He is believed to enjoy special power with some patron demon, who may be the one needing to be propitiated, or whose agency may be called in to expel and overcome the perhaps less powerful agent of the disease. If one *kahuna* proves insufficient to the task, others must be found who possess the special influence needed. The

following testimonies concerning the matter by government physicians in the various districts, in the report of the Board of Health for the year 1892:—

The *kahuna* “is a curse to the Hawaiian race ; by maltreatment and no treatment, but by secreting patients away from the authorities and agents of the Board of Health, he may be classed as a cause of death among Hawaiians, and I honestly believe the chief cause” [Maui]. “It is owing to his influence that there are so many cases of sickness and death without medical attendance” [Kauai]. “The cause, above all causes, of the large death-rate among native Hawaiians is the omnipresent *kahuna*, ever ready with his time-worn argument of diseases *haole* [foreign], and diseases Hawaiian, to work destruction to his people” [Hawaii]. “Notwithstanding the *pro-fessive* influence of schools and other educational advantages, *kahuna*-ism seems to continue its hold upon the great majority of the natives ”

processes employed are always quite expensive to the patient, and very commonly quite severe. There are sacrifices of pigs and fowls ; there are complex incantations. There are doubtless various efforts allied to mesmeric or hypnotic phenomena. Violent sweatings and purgings are frequently used to promote the expulsion of the demon, with great physical severities of different kinds, such as often are of themselves fatal to the patient. The tension of anxiety and dread is terrible and very weakening. A great mortality results directly from this violent and terrifying treatment. Furthermore, there is a large mortality caused by pure mental apprehension where no disease originally existed. The sufferer is told that a sorcerer is at work against him ; he at once sickens and is prostrated, and soon dies. Or he is solemnly warned by a learned *kahuna* that he has symptoms of dangerous disease impending. Or he is conscious of having committed some act, such as the violation of a vow, which has offended the family deity, or *aumakua*, and through mental apprehension, the same effect of sickening ensues. All of these things play into the hands of the medicine man, bring him dupes and victims, increase his revenue, and multiply the mortality of the people.” (Paper read before the Honolulu Social Science Association, November, 1888 ; it may be found in Blount, p. 303 *et seq.*)

[Hawaii]. "This kingdom and particularly this place is infested with *kahunas*" [Molokai].

In the report of the Board of Health for 1897 I find the following testimonies by government physicians:—

"*Kahuna* practice still exists, and I am convinced will continue as long as we have native Hawaiians" [Honolulu]. "*Kahuna* practice does not abate, excepting with the death of the practitioner, or an occasional and rare conviction in court" [Hawaii]. "The number of *kahunas*, both male and female, in this district is legion" [Hawaii]. "The *kahuna* is very much in evidence in Kona, and will be till the last Hawaiian is gone" [Hawaii]. "There is no doubt that *kahuna*-ism is being constantly practised in this district, even amongst the more intelligent Hawaiians" [Maui]. "The Hawaiian *kahuna* is the bug-bear of every country physician . . . my advice disregarded, medicines rejected, and kind offices converted into suspicious proceedings, by the influence over the Hawaiian mind of the *kahuna*" [Maui]. "The belief in the *kahuna anaana*, the sorcerer, the one who cures or prays his victim to death, incredible as it may seem, still exists in the district of Lahaina. This has been proven, after careful inquiry and observation, beyond the shadow of a doubt. Native Hawaiians die to-day from fear of *anaana*, just as highly nervous members of the Anglo-Saxon or Latin races often go mad or die from a too severe or prolonged mental strain" [Maui].

To the foregoing particular causes of the high death-rate among the Hawaiians should be added their general carelessness in all matters pertaining to health and their improvidence; to this is largely due the excessive mortality of infants and young children.¹

¹ See testimony respecting this by various government physicians in the Report of the Board of Health for 1897.

The ratio of children surviving to the whole number of children born, to

THE WHITE MAN IN THE TROPICS

The social future of Hawaii will be determined mainly by the relative growth or decay of its three racial elements. That the pure-blood native will be a steadily dwindling factor, relatively to the whole population, if not absolutely, admits of no doubt. That the part Hawaiians will for some time to come increase in number, and then tend gradually to disappear as a separable element, seems likely. That the number of Asiatics will diminish, subsequently to the application to Hawaii of the United States contract labor laws, is for many reasons probable. Unless, therefore, Europeans or Americans immigrate in considerable numbers, or the birth and death rates undergo change, the population is likely to remain stationary, or fall steadily off as it was always doing up to twenty years ago. But this is hardly a possible contingency, so long as the sugar industry remains profitable. Labor must be had; and it is likely to be white labor in an increasing ratio, *provided* it is found that the white man can work under tropical conditions, with a fair degree of comfort and efficiency, and that the industry can afford to pay

mothers of various nationalities, was given in the Census Report of 1896, as follows: Hawaiians, 59.50 per cent; Portuguese, 71.67 per cent; part Hawaiian, 75.12 per cent; British, 76.25 per cent; American, 77.68 per cent; German, 78.60 per cent; Norwegian, 82.35 per cent; Chinese, 87.56 per cent; Japanese, 88.75 per cent; see Appendix C, p. 246.

him such wages as he will demand. These are, therefore, much the most important questions relative to the social future of these islands, and remaining still to be solved. I will conclude with some suggestions respecting the first of these questions, which has an important bearing on the future policy and destiny, not only of Hawaii, but also of the United States¹ and of Europe, in their relations to tropical countries.

Views of
Kidd and
Pearson

The ability of the white man to work effectively and propagate his kind within the tropics has lately been denied by Benjamin Kidd:²—

“The attempt to acclimatize the white man in the tropics must be recognized as a blunder of the first magnitude. All experiments based upon the idea are mere idle and empty enterprises fore-doomed to failure. . . . In the tropics the white man lives and works only as a diver lives and works under water. . . . Neither physically, morally, nor politically, can he be acclimatized in the tropics.”

¹ As to the second point, I will content myself with quoting the following words from an address delivered before the Honolulu Social Science Association, June 28, 1897, by Judge W. F. Frear: — “The truth is, that high wages indicate low cost of production, that is to say, they are the result of low cost, not the cause of high cost, and high-priced laborers are not at a disadvantage in competition with low-priced ones; nor is a capitalist who pays high wages at a disadvantage in competition with one who pays low wages. . . . We may go further and affirm not only that there would be no pecuniary loss in paying white laborers more than Asiatic, but that there would be a positive gain, and that this gain would be greater the higher the wages paid—that is, paid not excessively or arbitrarily through ignorance or generosity, but in accordance with the law of supply and demand, and, therefore, necessarily, in proportion to efficiency.”

² “The Control of the Tropics,” p. 48.

In a very able and a very disheartening book,¹ Charles H. Pearson has devoted a chapter to "The Unchangeable Limits of the Higher Races," asserting that —

"Europeans cannot flourish under the tropics, and will not work with the hand where an inferior race works. . . . The result of all these considerations seems to be that by far the most fertile parts of the earth, and which either are or are bound to be the most populous, cannot possibly be the homes of what it is convenient to call the Aryan race, or, indeed, of any higher race whatsoever."

This opinion, which is held by perhaps the larger number of writers on acclimatization and colonization,² requires more precise statement and further examination. I can only suggest here certain points relative to the inquiry.

1. It will not do to lump all tropical regions together in a single phrase and judgment; isothermal lines must be reckoned with as well as parallels of latitude; and differences of location—insular, continental, coastwise, interior—and of topographical configuration, of altitude, of atmospheric humidity, of rainfall, of soil, of flora. Thus, it is unintelligent to place Honolulu in the same climatic class with Timbuktu or Bombay, though these are not very much nearer the equator.

Differences
within the
tropics

¹ "National Life and Character," ch. i.

² See two articles on "Acclimatization" by Professor W. Z. Ripley in the "Popular Science Monthly," March and April, 1896, containing a large number of references to the literature of the subject.

Differences
of races

2. It is probable that a similar distinction must be made between the several European peoples, as concerns their facility of acclimatization in hot regions. Italians, as in the Americas; Spaniards, as in Cuba; the Portuguese, as in Hawaii; even the French, as in Bourbon, seem to have adapted themselves somewhat more readily hitherto than have more northern stocks to tropical conditions. This is perhaps a hint from Nature to planters and promoters within equatorial regions, as to the best European sources for their labor supply.

Temper-
ature

3. So far as temperature is concerned, it is not likely that that, taken by itself, whether high or low, can permanently repel or overwhelm the Caucasian. He must, indeed, both adapt and habituate himself in the tropics to great and continuous heat; and even so it will prove disastrous in many cases for a generation or two, as it will also probably diminish permanently the enterprise and activity of the race. This will result, not only from the direct depressing effect of constant heat on the nervous system, but also from the lesser amount of oxygen in a given bulk of air; slower respiration and consequent impairment of the blood; diminished flow of urine; increased action of the liver, leading to reaction and hepatic deposit; and increased action of the skin, resulting frequently in chill.¹

¹ See paper by Surgeon General Sir William Moore, in "Transactions of the Seventh International Congress of Hygiene and Demography," x. 165 *et seq.*

4. The one fatal feature of low equatorial regions Malaria
— malaria — is fatal to colored races, as it is to white. Thus, Professor Henry Drummond sets it down¹ as the second sure fact concerning African fever that natives suffer from it “equally with Europeans.” Changes of residence within the tropics are commonly more fatal to blacks than to whites.² The National Board of Health stated, in 1880,³ that the vital statistics of Cuba “demonstrate conclusively, as statistics of all southern countries have invariably done, that the old idea that the negro surpassed the white in enduring tropical or southern climates was false; that in truth the colored death-rate is habitually greater.” “For twenty-three large cities of the South, according to the reports of the National Board of Health for 1881, the rate [of mortality] for malarial fever was 100.4 per 100,000 for the whites, and 133.0 for the negroes.” For the year 1897, the death-rate due to this cause was three times as great for the blacks as the whites in New Orleans; two and two-thirds as great in Memphis; 60 per cent greater in Charleston; and 40 per cent greater in Savannah.⁴ During the Civil War, “the average rate of admissions to hospitals for malarial diseases was 522 per 1000 for the white troops, and 829 for the colored

¹ “Tropical Africa,” p. 44.

² Instances in Ratzel, “*Anthropogeographie*,” Zweiter Theil, p. 367.

³ Report, p. 224.

⁴ Reports furnished me by courtesy of Health Officers.

troops. . . . The average death-rate for malarial diseases was 3.36 per 1000 for the whites, and 10.03 for the colored troops."¹ From yellow fever, however, the negro is relatively though not entirely immune.

Diseases
"run out"

5. And in so far as the colored peoples, in particular torrid regions, resist certain zymotic diseases more successfully than the whites, the fact does not of itself prove that they are by racial constitution more impervious to those diseases, and hence better adapted to live in the countries which they infest, any more than the enormous fatality of measles when first introduced into the Hawaiian and Fijian Islands proved that the Pacific Islander, as such, is peculiarly susceptible to that malady. The fact seems to be—and the "germ theory" of disease helps to explain it—that many diseases tend to lose their virulence when successive generations are subjected to their influence; they "run out." How great an effect this law will have on the permanent occupation of torrid regions by white races, it is still too early to determine.

Diminished
death-rate

6. It seems to be established that the mortality of Europeans in tropical countries has been greatly diminished in recent years by the establishment of hygienic habits and sanitary conditions. I will adduce only two examples among many,—the experience of

¹ Hoffman, "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," p. 97.

the Dutch and the British armies in India. In the former, the death-rate for the thirty years following 1819 was 113.9 per 1000; in a like period following 1850, it was 59.2, and in the highlands only 46.2.¹

The change in this regard which has taken place in the British Indian army is very instructive. "It is on record that in the year 1757, only five out of the two hundred and fifty soldiers who came to Madras in August of the previous year survived." After the transfer of the country from the East India Company to the crown, in 1858, sanitary commissioners were appointed, municipalities were erected, the food supply was increased by irrigation and otherwise, and purer and more abundant water was provided, as well as systems of drainage and of filth-removal, vaccination was introduced, hospitals and dispensaries were built, and a popular literature on health topics was created. And as a result of all this, the mortality of natives in the great cities was much diminished,² while the death-rate of European soldiers was reduced from 69 per 1000 in 1863 to about 14 per 1000 in 1890.³

¹ Dr. C. L. van der Burg, in "Transactions of the Seventh International Congress of Hygiene and Demography," x. 172.

² The deaths from cholera in Bombay reached an annual average of 2365 during the ten-year period, 1850-1859; in the like period, 1879-1888, they averaged 401; similarly of Madras and Calcutta. See tables in "Transactions," etc., xi. 57-59.

³ Thus Surgeon General Sir William Moore; according to Professor J. Lome Notter, the average death-rate of European soldiers in India from 1828-1856 was about 55 per 1000.

It is Stokvis's striking conclusion, that whereas the several European armies stationed within the tropics formerly suffered a death-rate of 100-129 per 1000, this has now been reduced to 15-30.¹ What assurance have those who prophesy thus confidently that the white man can "never" live and thrive within the tropics, that the advance of sanitary and medical science may not only carry this ameliorative process much further, but may even put a new face on the matter by the entire conquest or great mitigation of the diseases in question? What has been done by vaccination, inoculation, and anti-toxines in the case of small-pox, rabies, and diphtheria, and by sanitation and quarantines in the case of plague and cholera, may yet be done with zymotic and malarial diseases, so that a relative immunity, at least, from their ravages may be everywhere enjoyed.

Deteriora-
tion of
stocks

7. The current view that the European stock invariably and seriously deteriorates in the tropics is probably not true as concerns their more favorably located portions. Sir Clements R. Markham, C.B., reports² concerning the only six European families within his personal knowledge who had lived for more than two centuries on the tropical uplands of Peru, without probable admixture of Indian blood;

¹ "Ueber Vergleichende der Rassenpathologie," pp. 10-12, cited by Van der Burg.

² "Transactions," etc., x. 181.

and in all these cases there had certainly been no deterioration, either physical or mental. "The height, the chest development, the fresh complexion, the powers of endurance," had all been maintained intact.

Dr. G. M. Giles, having medical charge of the Lawrence Military Asylum, a large school for the children of soldiers, at Sanawar, Punjab, says: "Personally, I am inclined to doubt if there be any marked differences between children reared in India and in England; at any rate, if they get a fair share of the hills. The fact is, that the notions that have sprung up on this point are without exception the result of desultory general observation, entirely unchecked by the numerical method." This agrees with the conclusion of Waitz, "that it is possible to establish a race of European children in the tropics, which after a few generations will be able, for the most part, to support the same bodily fatigues as the original inhabitants." So far as the case of Hawaii throws any light on the question, it is distinctly favorable to this view; "there is no deterioration of Anglo-Saxon families from generation to generation, either physically or mentally, but there are indications of a contrary tendency."¹

¹ Hon. S. B. Dole, in "Harper's Weekly," February 11, 1899.

In the pamphlet entitled "Jubilee Celebration," etc., published in Honolulu in 1887, is to be found "a catalogue, alphabetically arranged, of the missionaries at the Hawaiian Islands sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of Boston and the Seamen's Friend

Field labor

8. As to the specific question of field labor or other strenuous physical exertion by whites in hot climates, no very exact and decisive inquiries have been made, so far as I am aware. The popular impression concerning the matter is doubtless correct in part; but observations in Florida, extending through a period of fifteen years, in winters and summers alike, have convinced me that a conclusion of this nature may be adopted almost universally and without question, which nevertheless is, on the whole, false. And in Hawaii, white men have already for two generations engaged in small farming, in all manner of field work and other manual labor, without serious inconvenience. Sunstroke is unknown. To be sure, Hawaii enjoys an exceptional climate; but recent experience in northern Queensland, under strictly tropical conditions, seems to point the same way. According to T. M. Donovan:¹ "A large number of the big plantations are broken up into small farms of about eighty acres each, and sold at easy terms to white farmers. Where a few years ago there was a large plantation worked by gangs of South Sea

Society of New York," giving the number of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren born to those missionaries, and the number of such descendants still living at that time. This catalogue is to be commended to the attention of those who deny the power of the white man to propagate his kind within the tropics.

¹ "Industrial Expansion in Queensland," in "Westminster Review," March, 1897.

Islanders, there are now twenty or thirty comfortable homesteads. And the contention that white European labor could not stand the field work is blown into thin air by the practical experience of thousands of white laborers all along the coast. The black labor question is settling itself; it is only a matter of time until the sugar industry can entirely do away with *kanaka* labor."

9. Finally, it must not be forgotten that the effort to colonize the hot regions with whites has been made, for the most part, during a period when immense expanses of new, rich, and comparatively unoccupied territory, lying both in the north and south temperate zones, have been opened to immigrants. Naturally, these have been peopled first. No other such lands remain to be discovered and possessed. And when the pressure of population upon limits of territory and means of subsistence in these new regions becomes great — as is already beginning to be the case — fresh incentives will be felt to push further on. Probably some relief will come, as formerly, from a diminishing birth-rate; but, doubtless, also, efforts more strenuous and more scientific will be made than has heretofore been the case, to overcome the difficulties of residence in hot countries. The final result can hardly be doubtful, though it may be long delayed.

New incentives

This sketch of the social evolution of Hawaii supports the conviction, and illustrates the fact, that

civilization is largely a struggle of races for survival and supremacy; and that in this struggle the decisive forces are psychical and moral. Important as is the physical environment, the conquest of the world and the fashioning of societies belong nevertheless to the peoples who are rich in insight, ideas, invention, ambition, faith, judgment, courage, conscience, sympathy, and self-control. If the Teutonic peoples are more abundantly endowed with these qualities than others, and shall preserve them undiminished in time to come, they will inherit and dominate the earth; whatever races are deficient in these inner energies, and remain so, will either fade gradually away through contact with the stronger, or will forfeit their independence and occupy a place of subjection and tutelage. And this will be well.

Ua mau ka ea o ka aina i ka pono.

—HAWAIIAN NATIONAL MOTTO.

APPENDIX A

THE following is a list of those who have held high office in the Hawaiian Islands:—

I. SOVEREIGNS.

Kamehameha I., Kamehameha II., Kamehameha III., Kamehameha IV., Kamehameha V., William C. Lunalilo, David Kalakaua, Liliuokalani.

II. KUHINA NUIS (Premiers).

Kaahumanu, Kinau, Kekauluohi, John Young, Jr., Victoria Kamamalu.

III. CABINET MINISTERS.

PRESIDENT OF TREASURY BOARD AND RECORDER. DR. G. P. JUDD.

MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Under the Monarchy.

Dr. G. P. Judd, R. C. Wyllie, C. de Varigny, C. C. Harris, F. W. Hutchinson (*pro tem.*), C. R. Bishop, W. L. Green, H. A. P. Carter, H. A. Peirce, J. M. Kapena, C. C. Moreno, J. E. Bush (*ad interim*), W. M. Gibson, R. J. Creighton, Godfrey Brown, J. Austin, J. A. Cummins, S. Parker, Joseph Nawahi, M. P. Robinson.

Under the Provisional Government.

S. B. Dole (and President), F. M. Hatch.

Under the Republic.

S. B. Dole (and President), F. M. Hatch, H. E. Cooper, W. O. Smith (*ad interim*), S. M. Damon (*ad interim*).

MINISTERS OF THE INTERIOR.

Under the Monarchy.

Dr. G. P. Judd, John Young, Jr., Lot Kamehameha, G. M. Robertson, C. G. Hopkins, F. W. Hutchinson, E. O. Hall, H. A. Widemann, W. L. Green (*ad interim*), W. L. Mochonua, J. Mott Smith, S. G.

Wilder, J. E. Bush, H. A. P. Carter, W. N. Armstrong (*ad interim*), S. K. Kaai, J. E. Bush, W. M. Gibson, C. T. Gulick, L. Aholo, J. A. Austin (*ad interim*), L. A. Thurston, C. N. Spencer, G. N. Wilcox, J. F. Colburn.

Under the Provisional Government.

J. A. King.

Under the Republic.

J. A. King, H. E. Cooper (*ad interim*).

MINISTERS OF FINANCE.

Under the Monarchy.

Dr. G. P. Judd, E. O. Hall (acting), E. H. Allen, D. L. Gregg, C. G. Hopkins, C. de Varigny, C. C. Harris, J. Mott Smith, R. Stirling, P. Nahaolelua, J. S. Walker, J. M. Kapena, S. K. Kaai, M. Kuaea, J. S. Walker, J. E. Bush, C. T. Gulick (acting), P. P. Kanoa, W. L. Green, S. M. Damon, Godfrey Brown, H. A. Widemann, S. Parker (acting), G. W. Macfarlane, W. H. Cornwell, P. C. Jones.

Under the Provisional Government.

P. C. Jones, T. C. Porter, S. M. Damon.

Under the Republic.

S. M. Damon, J. A. King (*ad interim*), H. E. Cooper (*ad interim*), T. F. Lansing.

ATTORNEY GENERALS.

Under the Monarchy.

John Ricord, C. C. Harris, S. H. Phillips, A. F. Judd, A. S. Hartwell, R. H. Stanley, J. S. Walker (*ad interim*), W. R. Castle, E. Preston, W. C. Jones, W. N. Armstrong, H. A. P. Carter, W. M. Gibson, Paul Neumann, J. T. Dare, J. L. Kaulukou, L. Aholo (*ad interim*), A. Rosa, C. W. Ashford, A. P. Peterson, W. A. Whiting, H. A. Widemann (*ad interim*), Charles Creighton, C. Brown.

Under the Provisional Government.

W. O. Smith.

Under the Republic.

W. O. Smith, H. E. Cooper (*ad interim*), F. M. Hatch (*ad interim*).

MINISTERS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Under the Monarchy.

The Rev. William Richards, the Rev. Richard Armstrong.

IV. JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Under the Monarchy.

Chief Justices: the king (*ex officio*, prior to 1847), W. L. Lee, E. H. Allen, C. C. Harris, A. F. Judd. Associates: L. Andrews, John Ii, G. M. Robertson, R. G. Davis, J. W. Austin, A. S. Hartwell, H. A. Widemann, L. McCully, B. H. Austin, E. Preston, A. Fornander, R. F. Bickerton, S. B. Dole.

Under the Provisional Government.

Chief Justice: A. F. Judd. Associates: R. F. Bickerton, W. F. Frear.

Under the Republic.

Chief Justice: A. F. Judd. Associates: R. F. Bickerton, W. F. Frear, W. A. Whiting.

APPENDIX B

THE whole number, and the names, of missionaries sent to Hawaii by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions are as follows:—

1. The first party, arriving in 1820, was composed of Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston, ordained missionaries, and their wives; Thomas Holman, a physician, Samuel Whitney and Samuel Ruggles, teachers, Elisha Loomis, printer, and Daniel Chamberlain, a farmer, and their wives; and Thomas Hopu, William Kanui, and John Honuri, three Hawaiian young men from the Cornwall School. Reënforcements arrived as follows:—

2. In 1823, William Richards, Charles Samuel Stewart, and Artemas Bishop, ordained missionaries, Joseph Goodrich and James Ely, licensed preachers, Abraham Blatchley, physician, and their wives; and Levi Chamberlain, “superintendent of secular concerns.”

3. In 1828, Lorrin Andrews, Jonathan S. Green, Peter J. Gulick, and Ephraim W. Clark, ordained missionaries, Gerrit P. Judd, physician, Stephen Shepard, printer, and their wives; and Miss Maria C. Ogden, Miss Delia Stone, Miss Mary Ward, and Miss Maria Patten, assistants and teachers.

4. In 1831, Dwight Baldwin, Reuben Tinker, and Sheldon Dibble, ordained missionaries, and Andrew Johnstone, “assistant in secular affairs,” and their wives.

5. In 1832, John S. Emerson, David B. Lyman, Ephraim Spaulding, William P. Alexander, Richard Armstrong, Cochran Forbes, Harvey R. Hitchcock, and Lorenzo Lyons, ordained missionaries, Alonzo Chapin, physician, and their wives; and Edmund H. Rogers, printer.

6. In 1833, Benjamin W. Parker and Lowell Smith, ordained missionaries, and their wives; and Lemuel Fuller, printer.

7. In 1835, Titus Coan, ordained missionary, Henry Dimond, book-binder, Edwin O. Hall, printer, and their wives; and Miss Lydia Brown and Miss Elizabeth M. Hitchcock.

8. In 1837, Isaac Bliss, Daniel T. Conde, Mark Ives, and Thomas Lafor, M.D., ordained missionaries, Seth L. Andrews, M.D., physician, Samuel N. Castle, "assistant secular superintendent," Edward Bailey, Amos S. Cooke, Edward Johnson, Horton O. Knapp, Edwin Locke, Charles McDonald, Bethuel Munn, William S. Van Duzee, and Abner Wilcox, teachers, and their wives; and Miss Marcia M. Smith and Miss Lucia G. Smith, teachers.

9. In 1841, Elias Bond, Daniel Dole, and John D. Paris, ordained missionaries, William H. Rice, teacher, and their wives.

10. In 1842, George B. Rowell and James W. Smith, M.D., ordained missionaries, and their wives.

11. In 1844, Claudius B. Andrews, Timothy Dwight Hunt, and Eliphalet Whittlesey, and their wives; and John F. Pogue, ordained missionaries.

12. In 1848, Samuel G. Dwight and Henry Kinney, ordained missionaries, and Mrs. Kinney.

13. In 1849, Charles H. Wetmore, M.D., and his wife.

14. In 1854, William C. Shipman, ordained missionary, and his wife.

15. In 1855, William O. Baldwin, ordained missionary, and William A. Spooner, and their wives.

16. In 1858, Anderson Forbes, ordained missionary, and his wife.

17. In 1860, Cyrus T. Mills, ordained missionary, and his wife.

18. In 1862, O. H. Gulick, ordained missionary, and his wife.

19. In 1862, S. E. Bishop, ordained missionary, and his wife.

20. In 1864, L. H. Gulick, ordained missionary, and his wife.

21. In 1865, William DeWitt Alexander, ordained missionary, and his wife.

22. In 1877, Charles M. Hyde, ordained missionary, and his wife.

23. In 1889, William D. Westervelt, ordained missionary, and his wife.

24. In 1894, John Leadingham, ordained missionary, and his wife.

It thus appears that a total of 171 persons have been appointed to this field by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, of whom 50 were ordained missionaries, 27 laymen, and 94 females.

APPENDIX C

THE following tables are taken from the Report of the General Superintendent of the Census, 1896 (with modifications), and from the "Hawaiian Annual" for 1899 :—

I. TOTAL MALES AND FEMALES OF ALL NATIONALITIES

NATIONALITIES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
Hawaiians	16,399	14,620	31,019
Part Hawaiians	4,249	4,236	8,485
Americans	1,975	1,111	3,086
British	1,406	844	2,250
Germans	866	566	1,432
French	56	45	101
Norwegians	216	162	378
Portuguese	8,202	6,989	15,191
Japanese	19,212	5,195	24,407
Chinese	19,167	2,449	21,616
S. S. Islanders	321	134	455
Other nationalities	448	152	600
Totals	72,517	36,503	109,020

II. PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES OF EACH NATIONALITY

NATIONALITIES	1866	1872	1878	1884	1890	1896
Hawaiians	47.05	46.72	46.75	46.26	46.67	47.13
Part Hawaiians	50.18	50.74	49.47	49.76	50.13	49.92
Hawaiian-born foreigners	—	51.25	49.84	47.65	47.85	48.61
Portuguese	—	7.09	13.30	45.20	44.55	44.17
Chinese	9.17	5.52	3.90	4.85	5.09	7.32
Japanese	—	—	—	15.52	18.45	18.68
Other foreigners	25.25	23.12	29.77	35.37	28.97	29.90
Total averages	45.25	44.37	41.19	36.04	34.75	33.48

III. MIXED RACES

NATIONALITY OF FATHER	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
¹ Hawaiians	429	462	891
² Part Hawaiians	1,147	1,179	2,326
Americans	665	647	1,312
British	590	531	1,121
Germans	168	159	327
French	39	30	69
Norwegians	25	28	53
Portuguese	296	246	542
Japanese	32	45	77
Chinese	656	731	1,387
S. S. Islanders	52	39	91
Other nationalities	150	139	289
Totals	4,249	4,236	8,485

¹ These cases are where Hawaiian fathers of pure blood have married wives who are of mixed blood; their children are therefore classed as part Hawaiians.

² These cases are where a part Hawaiian has married a part Hawaiian, or in some instances an European or American woman. The latter cases are rare. It has been found impossible to trace the original nationality of the grandfather or great-grandfather of this class of citizens.

IV. MATERNITY STATISTICS

NATIONALITIES	Number of Females over 15 Years	Number of Married	Per Cent of Married to All over 15 Years	Per Cent of Mothers to Fe- males over 15	Number of Children born	Average of Children to Each Mother	Number of Children sur- viving	Per Cent of Children sur- viving
Hawaiians	9,778	8,215	84.01	59.36	27,994	4.82	16,659	59.50
Part Hawaiians	1,727	1,120	64.85	52.34	4,031	4.45	3,028	75.12
Hawaiian-born foreigners	444	199	44.82	34.68	545	3.54	484	88.80
Americans	592	421	71.11	49.66	941	3.20	731	77.68
British	436	357	81.88	59.63	1,158	4.45	885	76.25
Germans	258	212	82.17	67.44	776	4.69	610	78.60
French	28	8	28.57	10.71	18	6.00	11	61.11
Norwegians	65	54	83.07	70.77	204	4.43	168	82.35
Portuguese	3,199	2,859	89.34	72.42	13,222	5.68	9,476	71.67
Japanese	4,064	3,226	79.38	37.15	2,499	1.65	2,218	88.75
Chinese	1,269	1,173	92.43	66.50	2,436	2.88	2,133	87.56
S. S. Islanders	105	76	72.38	32.38	76	2.23	49	64.47
Other nationalities	56	49	87.50	64.28	139	3.86	119	85.61
Total	22,021	17,969	81.60	56.26	54,039	4.36	36,569	67.67

V. OWNERS OF REAL ESTATE AND HOMES, BY NATIONALITY

NATIONALITIES	OWN REAL ESTATE	OWN HOME
Hawaiians	3,995	3,100
Part Hawaiians	722	456
Hawaiian-born foreigners	160	68
Americans	273	192
British	251	167
Germans	94	96
French	10	8
Norwegians	27	20
Portuguese	438	695
Japanese	97	345
Chinese	195	758
S. S. Islanders	4	2
Other nationalities	61	59
Totals	6,327	5,966

VI. NUMBER ENGAGED IN INDUSTRIAL PURSUITS

NATIONALITIES	Total Male Population over 15 Years	Per cent of Laborers	Ranchers and Agriculturists	Fishers	Mariners	Mechanics	Drivers and Teamsters	Merchants and Traders	Clerks and Salesmen	Professions	Other Occupa- tions	Total with Occupations	Total without Occupations
Hawaiians	11,250	24.51	33.02	7.75	2.84	4.56	1.48	.32	1.19	1.17	4.95	81.79	18.21
Part Hawaiians	1,731	20.12	13.58	2.19	1.33	14.17	2.43	1.45	8.44	3.12	12.02	78.85	21.15
Americans	1,621	3.64	6.85	.06	12.71	17.89	2.34	7.10	15.11	12.10	16.84	94.64	5.36
British	1,120	5.89	9.01	—	4.64	23.66	1.87	9.01	16.61	7.23	15.92	93.84	6.16
Germans	605	26.34	8.59	—	2.64	18.67	3.30	5.28	11.23	3.13	20.82	100.00	None
French	48	16.66	6.25	—	14.58	20.83	—	4.16	6.25	22.91	12.50	100.00	None
Norwegians	142	13.38	10.57	—	11.27	24.65	3.52	2.81	5.63	—	14.79	86.62	13.38
Portuguese	4,187	72.51	9.36	.24	.22	6.14	2.25	2.03	1.89	.71	3.20	98.55	1.45
Japanese	17,980	80.10	3.51	.50	.10	1.45	.26	1.31	.88	.48	2.89	91.48	8.52
Chinese	17,445	62.61	12.14	1.69	.09	1.26	.60	4.70	1.68	1.80	8.65	95.22	4.78
S. S. Islanders	297	57.58	7.08	2.36	5.72	1.01	.67	.34	—	.34	2.35	77.45	22.55
Other nationalities	372	22.85	11.29	3.50	15.06	14.25	1.34	4.30	4.57	4.03	16.40	97.59	2.41

VII. LITERACY

NATIONALITIES	NUMBER ABOVE 6 YEARS	NUMBER ABLE TO READ AND WRITE	PER CENT ABLE TO READ AND WRITE
Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians .	32,390	27,625	85.28
Americans and Europeans other than Portuguese	5,319	4,556	85.65
Portuguese	8,089	2,252	27.84
Japanese, Chinese, S. S. Islanders	41,913	21,421	51.10

VIII. POPULATION BY NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

NATIONALITIES	PROTESTANTS	ROMAN CATHOLICS	MORMONS
Hawaiians	12,842	8,427	4,368
Part Hawaiians	3,242	2,633	396
Hawaiian-born foreigners . . .	1,801	6,622	15
Americans	1,404	212	34
British	1,184	180	7
Germans	592	83	2
French	6	57	—
Norwegians	154	8	—
Portuguese	146	7,812	1
Japanese	711	49	4
Chinese	837	67	49
S. S. Islanders	178	42	3
Other nationalities	176	171	7
Total	23,273	26,363	4,886

Grand total, 54,522 ; not reporting, 54,498.

IX. RECEIPTS, EXPENDITURES, AND PUBLIC DEBT FOR BIENNIAL PERIODS, 1856-1897

PERIODS ENDING MARCH UP TO 1894, THEN DEC. 31	REVENUE	EXPENDITURES	CASH BALANCE, IN TREASURY	PUBLIC DEBT
1856	\$419,228 16	\$424,778 25	\$28,096 84	\$22,000 00
1858	537,223 86	599,879 61	349 24	60,679 15
1860	571,041 71	612,410 55	13,127 52	128,777 33
1862	528,039 92	606,893 33	507 40	188,671 86
1864	538,445 34	511,511 10	22,583 29	166,649 09
1866	721,104 30	566,241 02	169,059 34	182,974 60
1868	825,498 98	786,617 55	163,567 84	120,815 23
1870	834,112 65	930,550 29	61,580 20	126,568 68
1872	912,130 74	969,784 14	56,752 41	177,971 29
1874	1,136,523 95	1,192,511 79	764 57	355,050 76
1876	1,008,956 42	919,356 93	89,599 49	459,187 59
1878	1,151,713 45	1,110,471 90	130,841 04	444,800 00
1880	1,703,736 88	1,495,697 48	338,880 44	388,900 00
1882	2,070,259 94	2,282,599 33	126,541 05	299,200 00
1884	3,092,085 42	3,216,406 05	2,220 42	898,800 00
1886	3,010,654 61	3,003,700 18	9,174 85	1,065,600 00
1888	4,812,575 95	4,712,285 20	109,465 60	1,936,500 00
1890	3,632,196 85	3,250,510 35	491,152 10	2,599,502 94
1892	3,916,880 72	4,095,891 44	312,141 38	3,217,161 13
1894	3,587,204 98	3,715,232 83	184,113 53	3,417,459 87
1895	3,506,183 96	3,172,070 73	69,225 76	3,811,064 49
1897	5,042,504 94	4,654,926 27	456,804 43	3,679,700 00

BONDED DEBT, ETC., JANUARY 1, 1898

Under Loan Act of 1882	6%	\$34,200 00
" " " 1886	6%	2,000,000 00
" " " 1888	6%	190,000 00
" " " 1890 5 % and 6 %		124,100 00
" " " 1892 5 % and 6 %		119,400 00
" " " 1893	6%	650,000 00
" " " 1896	5%	562,000 00
		3,679,700 00
Due Postal Savings Bank Depositors		809,181 62
Total		\$4,488,881 62

X. PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORT, 1867 TO 1897

YEAR	SUGAR LBS.	MOLASSES GALS.	RICE LBS.	PADDY LBS.	COFFEE LBS.	HIDES PCS.	TALLOW LBS.	GOAT SKINS	WOOL LBS.	PULU LBS.	FUNGUS LBS.	SALT TONS	BUNCHES BANANAS	TOTAL VALUE ALL DOMESTIC EXPORTS
1867	17,127,187	544,994	441,750	572,099	127,546	11,207	60,936	51,889	409,471	203,958	167,666	107	2913	1,324,122 02
1868	18,312,926	492,839	404,500	862,954	78,373	11,144	109,504	57,670	288,914	342,882	76,781	540	3,966	1,450,269 26
1869	18,302,110	338,311	483,600	1,586,959	340,841	12,863	85,937	62,736	218,752	622,998	85,215	1,152	6,936	1,743,291 59
1870	18,783,639	216,662	152,068	535,453	415,111	13,095	90,388	67,453	234,696	233,803	41,968	2,513	4,007	1,514,425 06
1871	21,606,773	271,291	417,011	867,452	46,926	10,384	185,240	58,900	471,706	292,780	37,475	711	3,876	1,733,004 46
1872	16,995,402	192,105	455,121	894,582	39,276	27,066	409,878	53,598	288,526	421,227	32,161	522	4,520	1,402,685 38
1873	23,129,101	146,459	941,438	597,945	202,025	20,677	609,855	67,702	320,507	412,823	57,538	445	6,492	1,721,597 78
1874	24,566,611	90,600	1,187,986	439,157	75,496	22,020	125,596	71,955	399,926	418,320	50,955	7364	6,494	1,622,455 37
1875	25,080,182	93,722	1,573,739	556,495	165,977	22,777	831,920	60,598	565,469	379,003	45,098	96	10,518	1,835,382 91
1876	26,072,429	139,073	2,259,324	1,542,603	153,667	11,105	327,201	45,265	405,542	314,432	35,893	5	14,982	2,055,133 55
1877	25,575,965	151,462	2,691,370	2,571,087	101,345	22,164	369,829	51,551	385,703	150,586	11,629	322	15,995	2,402,416 66
1878	38,431,458	93,136	2,767,768	2,784,801	127,963	25,309	329,941	64,525	522,757	212,740	22,364	1864	13,431	3,333,979 49
1879	49,020,972	87,475	4,792,813	38,815	74,275	24,385	—	24,940	404,308	137,001	2,571	50	12,369	3,665,593 76
1880	63,584,871	198,355	6,469,840	—	99,508	22,945	—	19,160	31,013	381,316	14,801	144	19,164	4,889,104 40
1881	93,789,483	263,587	7,682,700	102,370	18,912	21,972	118,031	21,308	528,489	53,415	4,282	302	20,776	6,789,076 38
1882	114,177,938	221,293	12,169,475	459,633	8,131	20,067	77,898	23,402	528,913	—	2,111	—	28,848	8,165,931 34
1883	114,107,155	193,997	11,619,000	1,308,795	16,057	38,955	32,252	24,798	318,271	—	3,783	—	44,902	8,036,227 11
1884	142,654,923	110,530	9,493,000	46,224	4,231	21,926	2,864	20,125	477,623	405	2,247	—	58,040	8,067,648 82
1885	171,359,314	57,941	7,367,253	—	1,675	19,945	—	19,782	474,121	—	1,157	—	60,046	8,958,663 88
1886	216,223,615	113,157	7,338,615	—	5,931	31,207	21,305	21,173	418,784	—	—	—	45,802	10,540,375 17
1887	212,763,047	71,222	13,684,200	400	5,300	28,639	56,713	16,233	75,911	—	—	—	58,936	9,435,204 12
1888	235,888,346	47,995	7,130,600	—	7,130	24,494	204,743	17,589	562,289	—	—	—	71,335	11,631,434 88
1889	242,165,835	54,612	9,660,896	—	43,673	27,158	97,125	11,715	241,925	—	—	—	105,630	13,810,070 54
1890	259,708,462	74,626	3,579,000	—	88,593	28,196	33,870	8,601	374,724	—	—	—	97,204	13,023,364 16
1891	274,983,580	55,845	4,900,450	—	3,051	26,427	27,225	7,316	97,119	—	—	—	116,660	10,107,315 67
1892	263,656,715	47,988	11,516,328	—	13,568	21,622	792	3,449	288,969	—	—	—	108,239	7,959,938 05
1893	330,822,879	67,282	7,821,004	—	49,311	19,826	13,250	5,911	301,592	—	—	—	104,042	10,742,658 50
1894	306,684,993	72,979	7,803,972	—	180,150	21,603	—	6,759	261,337	—	—	—	123,004	9,953,309 87
1895	294,784,819	44,870	3,768,762	—	118,755	19,180	—	6,466	227,987	—	—	—	105,055	8,358,106 79
1896	443,569,282	15,885	5,025,491	—	255,655	25,079	—	12,647	462,819	—	—	—	126,413	15,436,037 23
1897	520,158,232	33,770	5,499,499	—	337,158	25,140	9,000	6,085	249,000	—	—	—	75,835	16,021,775 19

XI. QUANTITY AND VALUE OF EXPORTS, 1897

ARTICLES	UNITED STATES		AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND		OCEANIA, CHINA, AND JAPAN		CANADA		TOTAL	
	99.62 Per Cent		.12 Per Cent		.11 Per Cent		.15 Per Cent		100 Per Cent	
	Quantity	Value	Quan.	Value	Quan.	Value	Quan.	Value	Quantity	Value
Sugar . . . lbs.	520,532,192	\$15,390,223 09	3,200	\$126 00	1,623	\$73 04	—	—	520,158,232	\$15,390,422 13
Rice . . . lbs.	5,448,700	225,055 60	—	—	10,799	519 92	—	—	5,499,499	225,575 52
Coffee . . . lbs.	288,228	89,813 36	27,273	5,803 00	305	58 00	21,352	\$4,021 36	337,158	99,696 62
Bananas . . bchs.	74,759	74,364 50	—	—	18	12 00	1,068	1,036 00	75,835	75,412 50
Wool . . . lbs.	204,720	17,750 44	—	—	—	—	44,480	3,558 40	249,200	21,308 84
Hides . . . pcs.	25,140	87,545 48	—	—	—	—	—	—	25,140	87,545 48
Pineapples . . pcs.	125,012	11,946 25	3,083	263 05	—	—	21,420	2,213 87	149,515	14,423 17
Goat skins . . pcs.	6,085	2,055 00	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,085	2,055 00
Sheep skins . . pcs.	9,907	2,711 95	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,997	2,711 95
Tallow . . . lbs.	9,000	225 00	—	—	—	—	750	93 00	33,770	225 00
Molasses . . gals.	33,020	2,799 72	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,000	2,892 72
Betel leaves . . bxs.	145	509 00	—	—	—	—	—	—	145	509 00
Taro flour . . sks.	218	267 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	218	267 50
Plants, seeds . . pcs.	40,752	1,735 40	2	5 25	—	—	—	—	40,754	1,740 65
Sundry fruit value	—	569 00	—	—	—	3 00	—	—	—	572 00
Awa . . . pkgs.	6	27 49	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	27 49
Bones and horns .	105,235	665 80	—	—	—	—	—	—	105,235	665 80
Curios . . . pkgs.	11	168 50	14	351 00	1	3 00	—	66 00	26	588 50
Canned fruits . . cs.	72	165 40	—	—	—	—	45	182 50	115	347 90
Sundries . . pkgs.	—	648 66	24	985 70	14	33 85	—	40 00	51	1,708 21
Honey . . . cs.	13	648 00	—	7,635 71	—	18,571 56	—	—	476	4,993 00
Honey . . . lbs.	108	51,143 04	368	—	—	—	3,960	198 00	53,020	88,086 21
Foreign products .	—	—	49,060	4,147 00	—	—	—	9,744 90	—	—
Total . . .	—	\$15,961,038 18	—	\$19,316 71	—	\$19,275 27	—	\$21,154 03	—	\$16,021,775 19

XII. VALUE OF IMPORTS, 1897

ARTICLES	VALUE GOODS PAYING DUTY	VALUE GOODS FREE BY TREATY	VALUE GOODS FREE BY CIVIL CODE	TOTAL
Ale, porter, beer, cider	\$81,076 75	—	\$10 00	\$81,068 75
Animals and birds	940 28	\$100,583 05	4,042 54	105,565 87
Building materials	93,948 25	74,656 10	1,253 69	169,858 04
Clothing, hats, boots	141,786 55	225,167 74	3,477 25	370,431 54
Coal and coke	—	4,953 91	131,515 56	136,469 47
Crockery, glassware, lamps, etc.	48,973 19	—	255 41	49,229 25
Drugs, surgical instruments, and dental materials	74,587 74	—	153 50	74,741 50
cottons	100,283 08	241,126 77	11 13	341,420 98
linens	21,235 27	—	—	21,235 27
Dry goods { silks	24,349 70	—	—	24,349 70
woollens	71,923 36	8,596 91	965 24	81,485 51
mixtures	26,662 62	849 79	—	27,512 41
Fancy goods, millinery, etc.	110,188 87	16,768 39	369 00	127,326 26
Fertilizer, bonemeal, etc.	—	—	402,756 25	402,756 25
Fish (dried and salt)	33,415 11	76,412 57	—	109,827 68
Flour	4,993 86	226,277 99	—	231,271 85
Fruits (fresh)	1,551 21	15,144 92	5 00	16,701 13
Furniture	40,981 97	63,417 51	1,296 00	105,695 48
Grain and feed	26 93	368,808 82	116 69	368,952 44
Groceries and provisions	236,056 31	371,567 64	1,876 26	609,500 21
Guns and gun materials	11,813 61	3,074 57	662 42	16,150 60
Gunpowder	15,814 66	—	630 39	16,445 05
Hardware, agricultural imple- ments, and tools	70,400 53	320,214 12	14,921 80	405,536 45
Iron, steel, etc.	12,216 46	45,972 86	8,473 42	66,662 74
Jewelry, plate, clocks	30,549 83	—	580 00	31,129 83
Leather	1,761 03	41,248 34	—	43,009 37
Lumber	3,715 55	285,027 65	125 76	288,868 96
Machinery	102,265 49	484,927 38	8,230 95	595,423 82
Matches	1,083 45	12,665 37	—	13,748 82
Musical instruments	5,206 66	10,833 02	925 00	16,964 68
Naval stores	8,071 40	50,434 38	20,651 01	79,156 79
Oils (cocoanut, kerosene, whale, etc.)	24,104 91	70,623 49	941 84	95,670 24
Paints, paint oil, and turpentine	64,845 78	2,160 05	612 97	67,618 80
Perfumery and toilet articles	13,523 66	7,759 02	—	21,282 68
Railroad materials, rails, cars, etc.	59,438 62	56,879 92	—	116,318 54
Saddlery, carriages, and materials	70,712 66	53,663 18	3,314 10	127,689 94
Sheathing metal	—	1,254 38	696 44	1,950 82
Shooks, bags, and containers	205,749 93	14,037 56	14,220 34	234,016 83
Spirits	2,083 93	—	188 08	2,272 01
Stationery and books	14,145 20	77,206 80	7,158 31	98,510 31
Tea	33,882 32	—	—	33,882 32
Tin, tinware, and materials	11,158 97	—	411 10	11,570 07
Tobacco, cigars, etc.	32,276 40	139,467 79	989 90	172,734 09
Wines (light)	57,476 87	—	79,763 38	137,240 25
Sundry personal and household effects	4,444 70	—	42,220 57	46,665 27
Sundry merchandise not included in the above	129,405 16	71,089 47	21,877 42	222,372 05
Charges on invoices	66,633 87	32,057 96	2,060 48	102,053 31
25 % added on uncertified invoices	1,087 32	—	—	1,087 32
Discounts	\$2,166,850 02	\$3,575,529 47	\$777,768 20	\$6,520,147 64
	15,916 03	2,488 52	166 12	18,570 67
Total at Honolulu	\$2,150,933 93	\$3,573,040 90	\$777,602 08	\$6,538,718 31
Total at Hilo	43,196 12	384,728 47	122,299 49	550,224 08
Total at Kahului	30,077 74	227,700 50	58,608 20	316,386 44
Total at Mahukona	10,028 54	133,474 43	31,662 66	175,165 63
Value goods in bond, net	—	—	—	139,274 97
Total Hawaiian Islands	\$2,234,256 39	\$4,318,944 30	\$990,172 43	\$7,682,628 09
Specie	—	—	1,155,575 00	—

XIII. ANNUAL TRADE BALANCE, ETC., SINCE 1880

YEAR	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	EXCESS EXPORT VALUES	CUSTOM HOUSE RECEIPTS
1880	\$3,673,268 41	\$4,968,444 87	\$1,295,176 46	\$402,181 63
1881	4,547,978 64	6,885,436 56	2,337,457 92	423,192 01
1882	4,974,510 01	8,299,016 70	3,324,506 69	505,390 98
1883	5,624,240 09	8,133,343 88	2,509,103 79	577,332 87
1884	4,637,514 22	8,856,610 30	4,219,096 08	551,736 59
1885	3,830,544 58	9,158,818 01	5,328,273 43	502,337 38
1886	4,877,738 73	10,565,885 58	5,688,146 85	580,444 04
1887	4,943,840 72	9,707,047 33	4,763,206 61	595,002 64
1888	4,540,887 46	11,707,598 76	7,166,711 30	546,142 63
1889	5,438,790 63	13,874,341 40	8,435,560 77	550,010 16
1890	6,962,201 13	13,142,829 48	6,180,628 35	695,956 91
1891	7,439,482 65	10,258,788 27	2,819,305 62	732,594 93
1892	4,028,295 31	8,060,087 21	4,031,791 90	494,385 10
1893	4,363,177 58	10,818,158 09	6,454,980 51	545,754 16
1894	5,104,481 43	9,140,794 56	4,036,313 13	522,855 41
1895	5,339,785 04	8,474,138 15	3,134,353 11	547,149 04
1896	6,063,652 41	15,515,230 13	9,451,577 72	656,895 82
1897	7,682,628 09	16,021,775 19	8,339,147 10	708,493 05



BIBLIOGRAPHY

IN preparing this volume, I have made use of the following works, besides various books and articles to which reference is made in foot-notes:—

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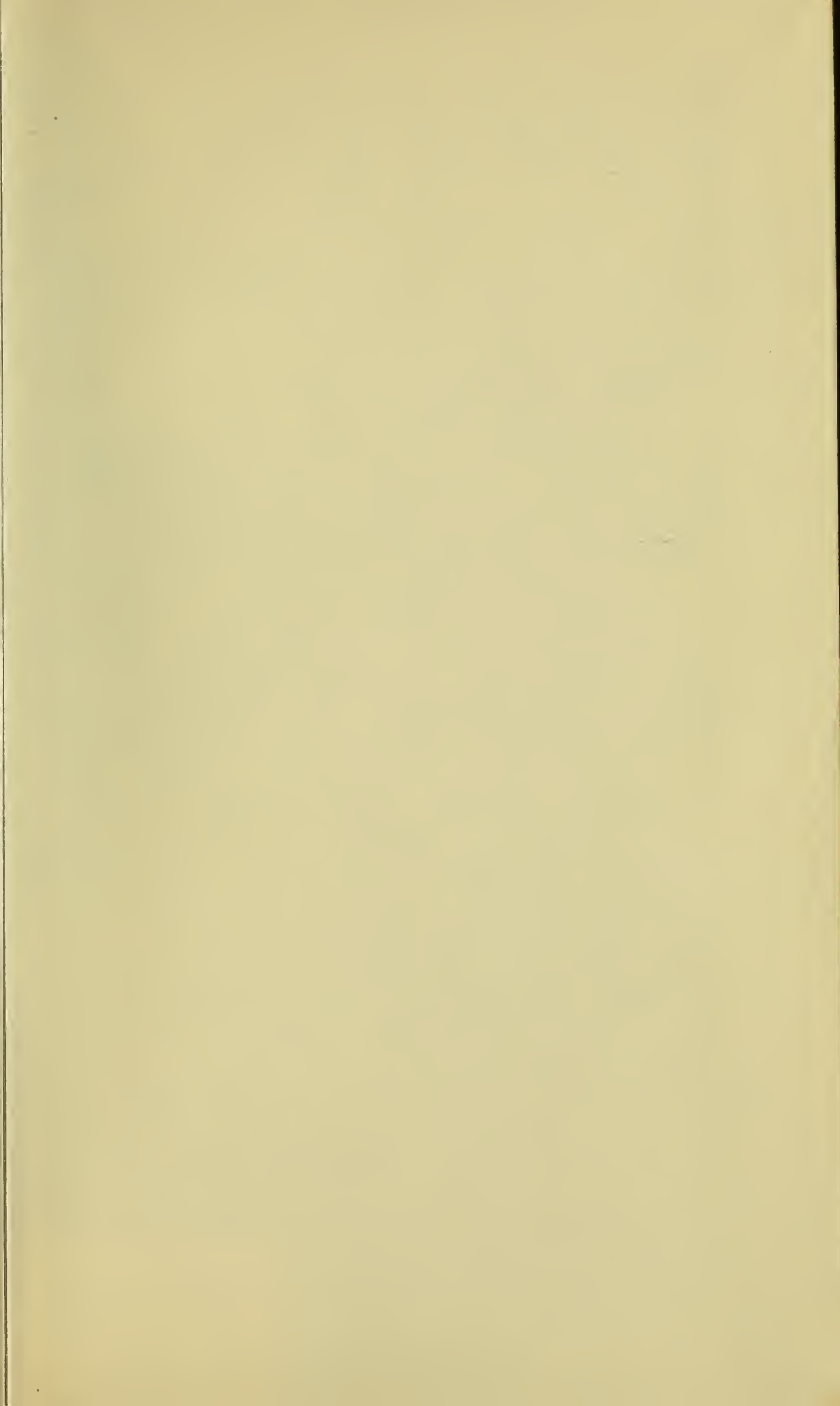
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